



THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,

FROM THE
ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER III. TO
THE UNION.

BY
PATRICK FRASER TYTLER,
F.R.S.E. AND F.A.S.

NEW EDITION.

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NOTE TO THE NEW EDITION.

THIS New Edition has been carefully corrected ; the authorities have been re-examined ; the quotations and references compared and tested by the originals.

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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

I HAVE commenced the HISTORY OF SCOTLAND at the accession of Alexander the Third, because it is at this period that our national annals become particularly interesting to the general reader. During the reign of this monarch, England first began to entertain serious thoughts of the reduction of her sister country. The dark cloud of misfortune which gathered over Scotland immediately after the death of Alexander, suggested to Edward the First his schemes of ambition and conquest; and perhaps, in the history of Liberty, there is no more memorable war than that which took its rise under Wallace in 1297, and terminated in the final establishment of Scottish independence by Robert Bruce in 1328.

In the composition of the present work, I have anxiously endeavoured to examine the most authentic sources of information, and to convey

to my reader a true picture of the times without prepossession or partiality. To have done so, partakes more of the nature of a grave duty than of a merit; and even after this has been accomplished, there will remain ample room for many imperfections. If, in the execution of my plan, I have been obliged to differ on some points of importance from authors of established celebrity, I have fully stated the grounds of my opinion in the Notes and Illustrations, which are printed at the end of each volume; and I trust that I shall not be blamed for the freedom of my remarks, until the historical authorities upon which they are founded have been examined and compared.

EDINBURGH, *April* 12, 1828.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
OF
PATRICK FRASER TYTLER.

THE lives of literary men do not ordinarily present to us the stirring events by which those of eminent statesmen and warriors are distinguished. Their biographies consist generally of little more than an account of their works; still, the importance attributed by posterity to their labours adds an interest to the circumstances in which it may have been their lot to be cast.

Amongst the many eminent men to whom Scotland is indebted for the honourable place which she holds in the literature of Europe, there are few to whom she owes more than to the Tytlers of Woodhouselee. This family, long settled in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, produced in succession William Tytler, Alexander Fraser Tytler, afterwards Lord Woodhouselee, and Patrick Fraser Tytler, who, by

the interest and value of their writings—extending over nearly a century—have done honour to themselves, and have contributed in no small degree to elucidate the history of their country.

The first of the family distinguished by his devotion to literature was William Tytler, (the grandfather of the subject of this Memoir,) who was born in Edinburgh on the 12th of October 1711. He was the son of Alexander Tytler, a Writer to the Signet in that city, who enjoyed the highest reputation for the probity and excellence of his private character. Like his father, William Tytler studied law, and became a Writer to the Signet in 1744. But although carrying on a legal business of considerable extent, he found leisure to indulge his taste for literary composition, and obtained considerable fame by publishing, in 1759, his well-known vindication of Mary Queen of Scots. This work, entitled “An Inquiry, Historical and Critical, into the Evidence against Mary Queen of Scots, and an Examination of the Histories of Dr Robertson and Mr Hume with respect to that Evidence,” was so favourably received by the public as to pass through four editions. In it Tytler sought to vindicate the memory of the unfortunate Queen, by bringing forward many circumstantial proofs that she was innocent of a complicity in the death of her husband Darnley, and attempting to show that the letters alleged to have been written by her to the Earl of Bothwell were spurious.

This Vindication received the commendations of

Samuel Johnson, Smollett, and other eminent literary men, who acknowledged the author's ingenuity, although they did not agree with the conclusion at which he arrived.

In addition to this remarkable publication, Tytler made several other interesting contributions to Scottish literature, among which may be noticed, "The Poetical Remains of James I., King of Scotland, with a Dissertation on the Life and Writings of that Monarch."

After spending a long life in the tranquil enjoyment of literary ease, Tytler died at the family seat of Woodhouselee on September 12, 1792, in the eighty-first year of his age. A high sense of honour, an uncorrupted integrity, a manly opposition to every kind of depravity or vice, were the distinguishing features of his character; and he died without leaving an enemy or detractor in the world.

Alexander Fraser Tytler, his eldest son, better known, perhaps, by his judicial title of Lord Woodhouselee, was born at Edinburgh on the 4th October 1747. He was educated first at the High School of that city, and afterwards at a private school in the neighbourhood of London. When he had reached the age of seventeen he entered the University of Edinburgh, and, having passed through the course of education preparatory to a legal life, was called to the bar in the year 1770, when he was in his twenty-third year. He married, in 1776, Anne Fraser, eldest daughter of Mr William Fraser of Belnain, Writer to

the Signet, by whom he had a family of eight children, of whom Patrick, the future historian of Scotland, was the youngest.

In 1780 he was appointed Professor of Universal History in the University of Edinburgh, and discharged the duties of the chair with great ability and success. As Professor of History he published, in 1782, his well-known "Elements of General History,"—a work the merits of which have been generally recognised, and which is still a standard class-book on the subject.

He published anonymously, in 1790, an "Essay on the Principles of Translation." This treatise speedily obtained a great reputation, and deserves to be regarded as one of the best introductions to criticism in the English language.

In the same year he was appointed, through the interest of Lord Melville, Judge-Advocate of Scotland; and about nine years afterwards was raised to the Bench under the title of Lord Woodhouselee.

Besides the works already mentioned, and several smaller productions, Lord Woodhouselee published an elegantly written memoir of Henry Home, Lord Kames, which contains notices of many of the literary Scotsmen of the last century. He died on the 5th January 1813, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

PATRICK FRASER TYTLER, the fourth son and youngest child of Lord Woodhouselee, was born at Edinburgh on the 30th of August 1791. He was educated at the High School there, under Mr (after-

wards Professor) Christison and Dr Adam of that seminary. These gentlemen were distinguished for their success as teachers, and under their care a large number of pupils, who afterwards filled eminent positions in life, received the elements of a liberal education. As a boy, Tytler gave little promise of that devotion to literary pursuits by which he was to be afterwards distinguished. He was, however, beloved by his schoolfellows for the generous nature of his disposition, and for his spirited and manly character. His father early remarked the ability which lay under his apparent carelessness and inattention. "You do not understand the boy," he would say. "I tell you he is a wonderful boy. Look at the eager expression of his countenance when listening to conversation far above his years ; he is drinking in every word. You tell me he never opens an improving book ; that it must always be an amusing story for him. I am much mistaken if he does not read grave enough books by and by."

Tytler was fortunate in having as his tutor a young man who afterwards earned some reputation by his writings—the Rev. John Black, minister of the parish of Coylton, in Ayrshire, and author of an elegant "Life of Tasso." Under the care of this accomplished guide Tytler made rapid progress, and acquired that taste for reading which he afterwards turned to so good an account. At a somewhat later period he enjoyed the assistance in his studies of another gentleman afterwards highly distinguished

—the Rev. John Lee—who, after filling several important academical offices, died Principal of the University of Edinburgh.

In his youth Tytler had also the great advantage of participating in the literary society which his father gathered around him. He may, indeed, be said to have breathed a literary atmosphere from his boyhood. Henry Mackenzie, (the “Man of Feeling,”) Scott, Sidney Smith, Mackintosh, and Jeffrey, were his father’s frequent guests; and young Tytler had the privilege of listening to the brilliant conversation of these eminent men.

Intending that his son should enter the profession of the law, Lord Woodhouselee resolved that, before beginning his legal studies, he should spend a year at an academical institution in England. Accordingly, Tytler was sent to Chobham House School, and placed under the care of the Rev. Charles Jerram, a gentleman of great worth. Under this excellent master he made much progress, particularly in the art of writing Latin verses, and in the study of the Greek poets. At the same time he did not neglect his general reading; and when he returned to Edinburgh, he brought with him an increased taste for that polite literature which was the delight of his future life.

The following extract of a letter, which he wrote after his return from Chobham to his brother Alexander, is interesting as showing the early period at which his love for the study of history developed

itself. It is dated June 14, 1810:—"I now come to give you some idea of my studies. When I first went to England, from having always lived in a literary family, where Mr Black and papa were continually talking upon learned subjects, as well as having read a few books, I had picked up more general knowledge than is commonly to be found amongst the boys at an English school. This made me in some degree looked up to, and balanced my deficiency in classical knowledge. To this last I applied tooth and nail; reading by myself, and often getting up in the winter mornings to study by candle-light. At last I began to understand and like Greek, and to make some progress in Latin versification. My vein improved amazingly at Chobham. The study of Virgil and Horace, of Milton and Thomson, was to me truly delightful. I often gave exercises in English verse; and Mr Jerram was sometimes pleased to express his approbation, and to ask for a copy of them. But I acquired a high relish for another noble branch of literature, and which I am at present pursuing with the greatest pleasure. I mean *history*. I there read Robertson's admirable History of Charles V., and wrote short notes upon it. Since that I have been reading Machiavel's History of Florence, Watson's Philip II., Gibbon's Decline and Fall, Clarendon's noble work on the Rebellion, Sully's Memoirs, Clarendon's Life, Voltaire's Charles XII., Papa's Elements, Chevalier Ramsay's Life of Turenne, Junius's Letters, the Life of Lord Chatham;

and I am now engaged with Hume, and Rapin's *Acta Regia*. What do you think of history, my dear Sandie? To me it seems the noblest of all studies. To say that it is entertaining is its least praise. It is the school of statesmen and warriors; and the pleasure, next to living in the times, and being a witness to the actions of these, is that of reading their lives and actions."*

About the close of the year 1809 Tytler entered the University of Edinburgh, and began with enthusiasm the study of law. But while he was working hard, along with his young friend Archibald (now Sir Archibald) Alison, at the Institutes of Heineccius, his favourite studies were not forgotten. At the request of his father, he wrote, in 1810, a poem, which he entitled "*The Woodhouselee Masque*," and which was allowed by competent judges to be a most graceful performance. This, and other unpublished poems, and also the elegant poetical translations which exist in some of his minor works, display a genius for poetry which, had it been cultivated, would have entitled him to rank amongst the poets of his country.

Tytler was called to the Scottish Bar on the 3d of July 1813; shortly after which he had to mourn the loss of his excellent father, Lord Woodhouselee, who had long suffered from a painful disease.

In the beginning of 1814, Tytler embraced the opportunity, which the peace of that year afforded,

* Burgon's *Memoir*, p. 65.

to visit France, in company with William and Archibald Alison, and Mr D. Anderson of Moredun. This tour lasted from April to June, and afforded the most lively gratification to the young tourists. They had the honour of being presented, while in Paris, to many distinguished men, including the great Platoff, and enjoyed the sight of innumerable celebrities. A record of this tour is preserved in an anonymous work, in two volumes, entitled "Travels in France during the Years 1814-15, comprising a Residence at Paris during the stay of the Allied Armies, and at Aix at the period of the Landing of Bonaparte." It was understood to be the production of Mr Archibald Alison, and contained certain chapters which Tytler contributed.

Through the influence of Alexander Maconochie, Esq., afterwards Lord Meadowbank, then Lord-Advocate, Tytler was appointed, when he had only been three years at the bar, a Junior Crown Counsel in Exchequer—an office worth £150 per annum. He also made some progress as a pleader at the bar. But literature and historical inquiry, although not engrossing all his attention, still occupied his leisure hours, and induced him to contribute various papers to literary journals.

During the years 1817 and 1818, he wrote several articles for *Blackwood's Magazine*, then in its infancy. These were, "Remarks on Lacunar Strevilineuse;" an address "To my Dog;" and a fanciful fragment, under the title of "A Literary Romance."

The fatigues of his professional and other duties

rendered him desirous of making a fresh tour for the benefit of his health; and he visited Norway in 1818, in company with Mr D. Anderson of Moredun. While on their tour they happened to be at Drontheim, when Bernadotte, after being crowned King of Sweden, made his entry, with his son Prince Oscar, into that city. The young Scotsmen had the honour of being presented to the king, by whom they were graciously received, and invited to dine with his Majesty.

The first separate work which Tytler published was his "Life of James Crichton of Cluny, commonly called the Admirable Crichton." It appeared in 1819, and was dedicated to the memory of his father, Lord Woodhouselee.

In this interesting memoir Tytler brought together the various materials bearing on the life and exploits of this extraordinary personage, whose remarkable attainments made Scotland celebrated throughout Europe in the sixteenth century. By a careful examination of the contemporary literature of the period in which Crichton flourished, Tytler successfully refuted the attempts which had been made by several authors to discredit the evidence on which his fame had so long rested.

Tytler's fondness for antiquarian research is nowhere more apparent than in this biography, which may be said to have left little to be gleaned by subsequent inquirers. The work was well received by the public; and a second edition was called for in 1823.

In 1822 was founded the Bannatyne Club, of which Tytler was one of the original members. This literary society, founded on the model of the Roxburghe Club, was formed by Sir W. Scott, Thomas Thomson, David Laing, and some other enthusiastic Scottish antiquaries.

It existed until 1860; and, during that long period, issued to its members a series of works which have been described as forming the greatest, the most important, and the most splendid disclosures that have been made of the latent historical treasures of Scotland.

Following the example of the Roxburghe Club, the members of the Bannatyne celebrated the anniversary of their institution by an elegant symposium. At these banquets original compositions were sung by such of the members as were of a poetical temperament. Their songs, or "garlands," as they were termed, were afterwards printed in a sumptuous style for the use of the members. Sir W. Scott produced the first, "Quhairin the President speaketh," and was followed by Tytler, who contributed three songs, which were quaintly described as having been "Brevit be ane lernit Councillar in the Kingis Chekar," and which displayed a considerable amount of humour and poetical ability.

In addition to the volumes printed at the expense of the Club generally, it was, if not a condition of membership, at least expected that a volume should be printed by each of the members, and presented to

the rest. Tytler, accordingly, in conjunction with his friends Mr Hog of Newliston and Mr Adam Urquhart, contributed a volume of "Memoirs of the Wars carried on in Scotland and Ireland, 1689-91, by Major-General Hugh Mackay." This curious volume was printed in 1833.

Tytler's attention was at this time nearly equally divided between law and literature, and, as it has commonly been supposed that a literary man could not be a good lawyer, it seemed necessary that he should make his election between them, for success in his future career. But a compromise suited him better, and so he published, in 1823, "An Account of the Life and Works of Sir T. Craig of Riccarton," the author of a celebrated treatise on the Feudal Law of Scotland. Craig had been a man of studious and retired habits, and mixed but little in the factions and intrigues of his time. Tytler, while recording the facts in the uneventful life of the great lawyer, gave an interest to the work by incorporating many notices of the eminent statesmen who were his contemporaries during the period between 1538 and 1608. This work was well received by the members of the legal faculty; but, while it served to maintain its author's literary reputation, it failed to increase his practice at the bar.

Tytler's agreeable manners and joyous temperament made him a prominent member of the Midlothian troop of Yeomanry Cavalry, which numbered then, as it does still, many young men of rank connected with

the Scottish metropolis. An incident which occurred in 1824 was the cause of much merriment amongst the troop, and called forth several of those amusing lyrical effusions in which Tytler so much excelled. "He had planned a quiet afternoon with his brother, under the paternal roof of Woodhouselee, and, with that view, had stolen away from his companions and the prospect of duty on the Portobello sands. But he was quickly missed at head-quarters; his intended line of march anticipated; and a corporal's troop, with a led horse, and a mock warrant for seizure, were despatched to apprehend and bring back the deserter. Tytler, the instant he espied the approach of this band, escaped by a back door, and took shelter in the glen above Woodhouselee. He remained there until he thought the danger must be over, and then ventured to return to the house; but ill had he calculated on the sharpness of the lawyer-soldiers of the Lothian Yeomanry. He was captured at the very threshold by the ambush which awaited his return, deprived of his arms, mounted on the led horse, and carried off in triumph to the military encampment at Musselburgh. The entire pantomime so touched his fancy, that he turned the incident into a song that same evening, and sang it the next day, (to the air of 'The Groves of Blarney,') at the mess-table, amid the applause and laughter of his delighted companions. He confessed how 'Private Tytler, forgetting quite, sir,' the heinousness of desertion,—and in defiance of

‘That truth, the soul of discipline,—
Most undutifully, in the month of July,
Set out for Woodhouselee to dine.’

The enemy’s approach, and his own retreat to the glen, he graphically described, as well as the exceeding discomfort to which he had been subjected as he

‘Shrouded sat beneath the pine.’” *

This song, called “The Deserter,” and several others, were privately printed, in 1825, as “The Songs of the Edinburgh Troop.”

Tytler and his yeomanry troop did good service on occasion of a great fire which happened in Edinburgh at that time. They were on duty for the purpose of guarding the effects which the inhabitants were endeavouring to save from the conflagration. And to a happy suggestion of Tytler the preservation of the Advocates’ Library from the flames may be said to be due. He suggested that the roof of the building in which the books were contained should be covered with wet blankets, and personally assisted in having this work done. The expedient was fortunately effectual, and that noble collection of books was saved.

From his intimacy with Sir Walter Scott, whose antiquarian tastes and literary labours led him to inquire minutely into almost every circumstance connected with Scottish history, Tytler derived much advantage. It was the advice of this great man that he should concentrate his energies on a historical work, which would supply a desideratum in Scottish

* Burgon’s Memoir, p. 166.

literature. Scott possessed, in an eminent degree, the talent for imbuing his circle of friends with the same enthusiasm for literary enterprises which was characteristic of his own nature. He found in Tytler one of congenial sympathies; and while his friend was on a visit to Abbotsford, in 1823, he had seriously urged him to undertake the task of writing a history of Scotland.

No one would have been so competent for such an enterprise as Sir Walter himself; but the multifarious nature of his other literary pursuits deprived him of the leisure necessary for the great amount of preliminary research which such a work involves. The subject was one, however, in which he was deeply interested; and as he at one time cherished the hope that an opportunity might occur when he might be enabled to devote his own energies to its treatment, he had collected various anecdotes from Scottish history for the purpose. These he afterwards published as the "Tales of a Grandfather," one of his most popular works.

The following interesting account of the circumstances to which we owe Tytler's invaluable work, is given in a letter written by Mr Pringle of Whytbank to Mr James Tytler in 1854. The historian had been on a visit to Mr Pringle at Yair, and, accompanied by that gentleman, had spent a most agreeable day at Abbotsford:—"While we were riding home at night," continues Mr Pringle,—“I remember the place; it was just after we had forded the Tweed, at Birdside

—your brother told me, that in the course of that evening Sir Walter Scott had taken him aside, and suggested to him the scheme of writing a history of Scotland. Sir Walter stated that, some years before, the booksellers had urged him to undertake such a work, and that he had at one time seriously contemplated it. The subject was very congenial to his tastes; and he thought that by interspersing the narrative with romantic anecdotes illustrative of the manners of his countrymen, he could render such a work popular. But he soon found, while engaged in preparing his materials, that something more was wanted than a popular romance,—that a right history of Scotland was yet to be written; but that there were ample materials for it in the national records, in collections of documents both private and public, and in Scottish authors whose works had become rare or were seldom perused. The research, however, which would be required for bringing to light, and arranging and digesting these materials, he soon saw would be far more than he had it in his power to give to the subject; and it would be a work of tedious and patient labour, which must be pursued not in Scotland only, but amongst the national collections of records in London, and wherever else such documents may have been preserved. But such a labour his official duties and other avocations would not allow him to bestow upon it. He had, therefore, ended in a resolution to confine his undertaking to a collection of historical anecdotes for the amusement

of the rising generation, calculated to impress upon their memories the worthy deeds of Scottish heroes, and inspire them with sentiments of nationality. He also mentioned that the article on the Culloden Papers, published in the *Quarterly Review* for 1816, which I have always considered as one of the most attractive as well as characteristic of all his writings, had been originally conceived in the form of a portion of an introductory essay to the contemplated historical work, which was now likely to go no further.

“He then proposed to your brother to enter on the undertaking, and remarked to him, that he knew his tastes and favourite pursuits lay so strongly in the line of history, and the history of his native country must have such peculiar interest for him, that the labour could not fail to be congenial to him; that though the requisite researches would consume a great deal of time and thought, he had the advantage of youth on his side, and might live to complete the work, which, if executed under a deep sense of the importance of historical truth, would confer a lasting benefit on his country; and he ended with offering all the aid in his power for obtaining access to the repositories of information, as well as advice in pursuing the necessary investigations.

“I asked my friend if the suggestion pleased him? He replied, that the undertaking appeared very formidable; that I knew he had always been fond of historical pursuits, and though he confessed he had

frequently cherished an ambition for becoming an historical author, yet it had never entered into his mind to attempt a history of his own country, as he knew too well the difficulties which he would have to encounter, especially those of attaining accuracy, and realising his own conception of what a history of Scotland ought to be; but that the suggestion, coming from such a quarter, as well as the offered assistance, was not to be disregarded. You may be sure that I encouraged him to the best of my power; for though I knew how much it was likely to withdraw his attention from his professional avocations, yet I also knew how much more congenial a pursuit it would prove, and how much more he was likely to attain to excellence, and establish his reputation in this channel. It was, therefore, with much satisfaction that I soon afterwards learned from him that he had entered seriously on the undertaking.”*

Before the first two volumes of the “History of Scotland” made their appearance, Tytler communicated an elegant paper to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, which was published in its *Transactions* in 1826. It is entitled, “An Historical and Critical Introduction to an Inquiry into the Revival of the Greek Literature in Italy after the Dark Ages.”

In March 1826 Tytler was married to Rachel, daughter of Thomas Hog, Esq., of Newliston,—a lady to whom he had been long attached. This union afforded him unmixed happiness, which was

* Burgon’s Memoir, p. 175.

only terminated by the early death of his wife in 1835. After his marriage, Tytler established himself in 36 Melville Street, Edinburgh, where he began the preparation of his History. He also published, anonymously, at this time, a life of John Wycliff, the precursor of the English Reformation.

After his marriage, Tytler entered upon his historical labours with the utmost enthusiasm. As the result of two years of unremitting exertion, the first volume appeared in March 1828, and was followed by the second in 1829. These volumes were favourably received, and were reviewed by Sir Walter Scott in an able article in the *Quarterly* for 1829. Sir Walter concluded his characteristic paper by referring to the laborious task thus begun, and wishing the author God speed—

“For long, though pleasing, is the way,
And life, alas ! allows but an ill winter’s day.”

He also expressed the hope that Tytler, young, ardent, and competent to the task, would not delay to prosecute it with the same spirit which he had already displayed.

Tytler appears at first to have had some difficulty in obtaining a suitable publisher for his History, and had calculated on but a moderate success for this first instalment of his great work. He was agreeably disappointed when the sale of the first edition of these two volumes exceeded one thousand copies. A fair success attended the publication of the other

volumes, which appeared successively in 1831, 1834, 1837, 1840, 1842, and 1843.

In the further prosecution of his labours, Tytler visited London in 1830, to consult the manuscripts in the State Paper Office and in the British Museum. While in London he endeavoured to secure the succession to the office of Historiographer for Scotland, when it should become vacant. This appointment was then held by the venerable Dr Gillies, who was in the eighty-third year of his age. Tytler was warmly received by many of the first literary men of the metropolis, and was engaged by Mr Murray to write a collection of biographies of illustrious Scotsmen, for a series of popular works then projected by that eminent publisher.

This very interesting work accordingly appeared as "Lives of Scottish Worthies" in 1831-33. It contained notices of the following twelve Scottish celebrities:—Alexander III., Michael Scott the wizard of Scotland, Wallace, Bruce, Barbour, Wyntoun, Fordun, James I., Henryson, Dunbar, Gawin Douglas, and Sir David Lyndsay.

In consequence of a change of ministry, Tytler lost his Exchequer appointment in 1830, which rendered him more dependent on his literary exertions. The failing health of his wife shortly afterwards induced him, as he was no longer necessitated to reside in Edinburgh, to try the effect of a change to a southern climate. He removed his family accordingly to Torquay, where they resided

for a year. He also spent some time at Rothesay in Bute.

Notwithstanding the interruptions caused by his changes of residence about this time, occasioned by the most ardent attachment to his amiable and accomplished wife, Tytler found leisure to write a "Life of Sir Walter Raleigh," and a "Historical View of the Progress of Discovery in America." These works formed part of a series issued by Messrs Oliver and Boyd, under the title of "The Edinburgh Cabinet Library," and were very popular. Of his *Life of Raleigh* new editions were called for in 1840, 1844, 1846, and 1847.

From his fondness for research among the national archives, and his familiarity with the contents of the State Paper Office in London, Tytler was, in 1834, desirous of obtaining a permanent appointment of a congenial nature. As the keepership of the records in the Chapter House of Westminster (to which a salary of £400 a year was attached) was then vacant, Tytler became a candidate for that appointment. He was, however, unsuccessful, and the office was bestowed on Sir Francis Palgrave.

In the following year, he suffered a severe blow to his domestic happiness through the death of his wife, which he bore with Christian resignation. By religious meditation, and by attention to the education of his youthful family, he strove to comfort himself under this painful bereavement.

He was destined to experience a great disappoint-

ment in 1836. On the death of Dr Gillies, who survived till he was in his eighty-ninth year, Tytler fully expected the appointment of Historiographer for Scotland. A promise had actually been made to his father, Lord Woodhouselee, that he should have this honour conferred on him ; but, by an unlooked-for change of ministry, the office was otherwise disposed of. It was bestowed on George Brodie, Esq., Advocate.

From his familiarity with the national archives, Tytler was, in 1836, examined, by a committee of the House of Commons, as to the best plan for rendering these documents available to historical inquirers. His evidence tended to show the folly of attempting to print *in extenso* the whole of these ancient records. He suggested, however, the propriety of publishing lists or calendars of these papers, which should, at the same time, embrace a short analysis of their contents. This valuable suggestion, after the lapse of twenty years, has been adopted, and the collection of "Calendars of State Papers," now in course of publication, will, when completed, be an absolutely essential aid to those engaged in historical inquiries.

Besides a volume of his "History of Scotland," Tytler published, in 1837, his "Life of Henry VIII.," which, like his "Life of Raleigh," formed a volume of Oliver and Boyd's "Edinburgh Cabinet Library." It passed through several editions. He also, about this time, in conjunction with Mr John Miller, Q.C., and the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, instituted the

English Historical Society. As the Bannatyne Club illustrated Scottish history, this society was originated for the purpose of publishing early chronicles and documents of interest to the student of the literature of England. It flourished for nearly twenty years, and printed for the use of its members a series of twenty-nine volumes, remarkable for the excellence of their typography, and for the care with which they were edited. The labours of Tytler in connexion with this society increased the debt this country owes to his unwearied exertions in the cause of historical research.

As the nature of his literary avocations required constant reference to the manuscript treasures contained in London, Tytler found it expedient to take up his abode in the metropolis; he accordingly removed finally to London in 1837.

Shortly after settling in his new residence in that city, Tytler published, in 1839, a work in two volumes, entitled, "England under the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, with the contemporary History of Europe, illustrated in a Series of Original Letters never before printed." This work contains 191 letters, written by the most distinguished persons of the period, from 1546 to 1558, with introductory remarks, biographical sketches, and useful historical notes. It may be regarded as an attempt to popularise the immense mass of manuscript literature contained in the State Paper Office and other repositories, as the obsolete spelling of the letters was modernised to render

them intelligible to general readers. From the multifarious nature of the contents of these volumes, it is difficult to describe them. The work is, however, a favourable specimen of the manner in which a well-skilled antiquary may render generally attractive and interesting those ancient documents which, in their original form, would be seldom consulted.

The publication of the "History of Scotland" was brought to a close in 1843 by the issue of the ninth and last volume, which Tytler concludes as follows:—"It is with feelings of gratitude, mingled with regret, that the author now closes this work—the history of his country—the labour of little less than eighteen years;—gratitude to the Giver of all good that life and health have been spared to complete, however imperfectly, an arduous undertaking; regret that the tranquil pleasures of historical investigation, the happy hours devoted to the pursuit of truth, are at an end, and that he must at last bid farewell to an old and dear companion."

Tytler has the merit of having executed his great work with much candour and impartiality. On every period of Scottish history which he has examined he has thrown fresh light; and he has given a clear and consistent narrative of events which, in many instances, had previously been the subject of the fiercest controversy. This work, whilst it displays an immense amount of antiquarian knowledge, is, at the same time, replete with elevated sentiments; and is written in that elegant style which might have been

expected from its author's hereditary claims to literary distinction.

He begins his history with the accession of Alexander III., in 1242, and continues it to the union of the crowns of England and Scotland under James I., in 1603. The period which he thus assigned to himself is illustrated by reference to nearly every source of authentic information which the recent spirit of antiquarian research had placed at the disposal of the historical inquirer. The voluminous publications of the Record Commission, embracing the Acts of the Scottish Parliament, and the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, a work relating to the transactions between England and Scotland from 1290 to 1517; the accounts of the Great Chamberlain of Scotland from 1263 to 1435; and the publications of the Bannatyne Club, afforded, in addition to the original MSS. discovered by himself in the national archives, the authentic materials with the aid of which his work was prepared.

The history of Scotland, previous to the reign of Alexander, still remains an interesting field of research; and it may be doubted whether this part of the subject has yet been so fully explored as to admit of its results being embodied in a history for popular use. The void has been supplied to a certain extent, by Tytler in his chapter on the state of Ancient Scotland, in which he gives the most graphic account of its early condition anywhere to be found.

In his treatment of what may be called the *questiones vexatæ* of Scottish history, it must be said that

he rarely allows his own sympathies to influence the impartiality of his narrative. As an instance of this, it may be remarked, that whilst he entertained the greatest respect for the memory of his grandfather—whose vindication of Queen Mary laid the foundation of the literary fame of the family—he came to a different conclusion with reference to Queen Mary, so clearly had his researches established her guilt.

It was at one time Tytler's intention to continue his history down to the period of the union of Scotland with England, in 1707. But from the voluminous and important nature of the documents to be arranged and examined for this purpose he found himself unable to enter on such a herculean task.

A short abstract of his History formed the article "Scotland" in the Seventh Edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica." It first appeared in 1842, and was afterwards printed in a separate form as a suitable class-book for schools.

Tytler at length began to receive the long-delayed rewards of his literary diligence and indefatigable research. A pension of £200 was bestowed on him by Government in recognition of his services. This mark of royal favour was communicated to him in the most handsome terms by Sir Robert Peel, then Prime Minister. He also had the honour of being consulted by Her Majesty and Prince Albert with reference to the collections of historical curiosities, drawings, and miniatures preserved at Windsor. On the occasions of his visiting the palace for this pur-

pose, Tytler was received with much attention, and retained a lively sense of the affability of the royal family. At the desire of Her Majesty he wrote an account of a singular relic in the royal collection, known as the Darnley Jewel. A few copies of his notes on this subject were printed for Her Majesty's use.

In 1845, Tytler was united, for the second time, in marriage to Anastasia, daughter of Thomson Bonar, Esq., of Camden Place, Kent.

The intense mental application which characterised the whole of Tytler's life, although relieved by an occasional indulgence in active field sports, had, as might be expected, a prejudicial effect on his health. He had a slight paralytic seizure in 1841, from the effects of which, by prompt attention, he recovered. His health, however, broke down in 1846, and he became a confirmed invalid. After residing for some years in Germany for the improvement of his health, he returned to England in 1849, and died in London on Christmas Eve of that year, when he was in the fifty-eighth year of his age. His remains were brought to Edinburgh, and were interred in the family vault, in the Greyfriars' churchyard. He left three children, two sons,—Alexander, and Thomas Patrick, who entered the East India Company's military service,—and one daughter.

The uneventful career of Tytler, thus closed at a comparatively early age, was well worthy of the distinguished family from which he sprung. His high

moral character, and his amiable and cheerful disposition, endeared him to a large circle of friends. At the same time he was distinguished, from his youth upwards, by a deep sense of religion—the result of his excellent early training—by which his life was carefully regulated. His numerous published works attest the patient research with which he brought to light historical documents of the highest interest and value; while to his indomitable perseverance in this respect was united an amount of perspicuous discrimination in the employment of them, which justly entitles him to take an honourable place among those authors who have most successfully laid open the historical treasures of their country for the instruction of the present and of future generations.

JOHN SMALL, M.A.

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

CHAP. I.

ALEXANDER THE THIRD.

1249—1292.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Kings of England.

Henry III.
Edward I.

King of France.

Louis IX.

Popes.

Innocent IV.
Alexander IV.
Urban IV.
Clement IV.

ALEXANDER the Third had not completed his eighth year, when the death of the king, his father, on the 8th July, 1249, opened to him the peaceable accession to the Scottish throne.* He was accordingly conducted by an assembly of the nobility to the Abbey of Scone, and there crowned.†

* Winton, vol. i. p. 380, book vii. chap. x. Mathew Paris Hist. p. 770.

† Alexander the Third was son of Alexander the Second, by Mary, daughter of Ingelram de Couci. Imhoff. Regum Pariumque Magnæ Britt. Histor. Genealogica, Part I. p. 42. The family of de Couci affected a royal pomp, and considered all titles as beneath their dignity. The *Cri de Guerre* of this Ingelram, or Enguerrand, was—

Je ne suis Roy, ni Prince aussi.
Je suis le Seigneur de Couci.

On account of his brave actions, possessions, and three marriages with ladies of royal and illustrious families, he was surnamed Le Grand.—Winton, vol. ii. p. 462.

A long minority, at all times an unhappy event for a kingdom, was at this time especially unfortunate for Scotland. The vicinity of Henry the Third of England, who, although individually a weak monarch, allowed himself sometimes to be directed by able and powerful counsellors, and the divisions between the principal nobility of Scotland, facilitated the designs of ambition, and weakened the power of resistance; nor can it be doubted, that during the early part of this reign, the first approaches were made towards that great plan for the reduction of Scotland, which was afterwards attempted to be carried into effect by Edward the First, and defeated by the bravery of Wallace and Bruce. But in order to show clearly the state of the kingdom upon the accession of this monarch, and more especially in its relations with England, it will be necessary to go back a few years, to recount a story of private revenge which happened in the conclusion of the reign of Alexander the Second, (1242,) and drew after it important consequences.

A tournament, the frequent amusement of this warlike age, was held near Haddington, on which occasion Walter Bisset, a powerful baron who piqued himself upon his skill in his weapons, was foiled by Patrick earl of Athole.* An old feud which existed between these families embittered the defeat; and Athole was found murdered in his house, which, probably for the purpose of concealment, was set on fire by the assassins. The suspicion of this slaughter, which, even in an age familiar with ferocity, seems to have excited unwonted horror, immediately fell upon the Bissets; and, although

* Henry earl of Athole had two daughters, Isobel and Fernelith. Isobel married Thomas of Galloway. Their only son was Patrick earl of Athole. Fernelith married David de Hastings.—Hailes' *Annals*, vol. i. p. 157. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 72. Math. Paris, p. 586.

Walter was the person present at the tournament, the popular clamour pointed to William, the chief of the family.* He was pursued by the nobility, who were incited to vengeance by the Earl of March and David de Hastings; and would have been torn to pieces, had not the interference of the king protected him from the fury of the friends of Athole. Bisset strenuously asserted his innocence. He offered to prove, that he had been fifty miles distant from Haddington when the murder was committed; he instantly procured the sentence of excommunication against the assassins to be published in every chapel in Scotland; he offered combat to any man who dared abide the issue; but he declined a trial by jury on account of the inveterate malice of his enemies. The king accepted the office of judge: the Bissets were condemned, their estates forfeited to the crown, and they themselves compelled to swear upon the Holy Gospel that they would repair to Palestine, and there, for the remaining days of their lives, pray for the soul of the murdered earl.

Walter Bisset, however, instead of Jerusalem, sought the English court.† There, by artfully representing to the king that Alexander owed him fealty, and that, as lord superior, he ought to have been first consulted before judgment was given, whilst he described Scotland as the ally of France and the asylum of his expatriated rebels,‡ he contrived to inflame the passion

* Lord Hailes remarks, vol. i. p. 157, that Fordun says the author of the conspiracy was Walter. Fordun, on the contrary, all along ascribes it, or rather says it was ascribed, to William Bisset.—Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. pp. 72, 73, 74. The name of the Bisset banished from Scotland, as shown in the Patent Rolls of Henry the Third, is Walter.

† Chronicon, Melross, a Stevenson. Bannatyne edition, p. 156.

‡ Math. Paris, pp. 643, 645. Speed's Chronicle, p. 527. Speed ascribes the disagreement between Henry and Alexander to the influence of Ingelram de Couci; and adds, that on the death of this nobleman, the *humour* of battle—this is Nym's phrase—ceased. De Couci, in passing a river on

of the English monarch to so high a pitch, that Henry determined on an immediate invasion. Nor was the temper with which Alexander received this information in any way calculated to promote conciliation. To the complaints of the King of England, that he had violated the duty which he owed to him as his Lord Paramount, the Scottish monarch is said to have answered, that he neither did, nor ever would, consent to hold from the King of England the smallest portion of his kingdom of Scotland. His reply was warmly seconded by the spirit of his nobility. They fortified the castles on the marches; and the king soon found himself at the head of an army of nearly a hundred thousand foot and a thousand horse. Henry, on the other hand, led into the field a large body of troops, with which he proceeded to Newcastle. The accoutrements and discipline of these two powerful hosts, which were commanded by kings and included the flower of the nobility of both countries, are highly extolled by Mathew Paris.* The Scottish cavalry, according to his account, were a fine body of men and well mounted, although their horses were neither of the Spanish nor Italian breed; and the horsemen were clothed in armour of iron net-work. In the number of its cavalry the English army far surpassed its rival force, including a power of five thousand men-at-arms, sumptuously accoutred. These armies came in sight of each other at a place in Northumberland called Ponteland; and the Scots prepared for battle, by confessing themselves to their priests, and expressing to each other their

horseback, was unseated, dragged in the stirrup, run through the body with his own lance, and drowned.

* M. Paris, p. 645. Chron. Melross, p. 156. Rapin is in an error when he says, vol. i. p. 318, that Alexander sent Henry word, he meant no longer to do him homage for the lands he held in England.

readiness to die in defence of the independence of their country. As Alexander, however, was much beloved in England, the nobility of that country coldly seconded the rash enterprise of their king, and showed no anxiety to hurry into hostilities. Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry, and the Archbishop of York, thought this a favourable moment for proposing an armistice; and, by their endeavours, such great and solemn preparations ended in a treaty of peace, without a lance being put in rest. Its terms were just, and favourable to both countries.*

Henry appears prudently to have waved all demand of homage from Alexander for the kingdom of Scotland; and the Scottish monarch, on the other hand, who possessed land in England for which, although the English historians assert the contrary, he does not appear to have ever refused homage, consented, for himself and his heirs, to maintain fidelity and affection to Henry and his heirs, as his liege lord, and not to enter into any league with the enemies of England, except in the case of unjust oppression. It was also stipulated, that the peace formerly signed at York, in the presence of Otto the pope's legate, should stand good; and that the proposal there made, of a marriage between the daughter of the King of England and the son of the King of Scots, should be carried into effect. Alan Durward, at this time the most accomplished knight and the best military leader in Scotland, Henry de Baliol, and David de Lindesay, with other knights and prelates, then swore on the soul of their lord the king, that the treaty should be kept inviolate by him and his heirs.†

* Rymer, vol. i. pp. 374, 428. Rapin's *Acta Regia*, by Whately, vol. i. p. 28.

† The original charter granted to Henry by Alexander may be found in

Thus ended this expedition of Henry's into Scotland, formidable in its commencement, but happy and bloodless in its result;* and such was the relative situation of the two countries, when Alexander the Third, yet a boy in his eighth year, mounted the Scottish throne.

The mode in which the ceremony of his coronation was performed, is strikingly illustrative of the manners of that age. The Bishops of St Andrews and Dunkeld, with the Abbot of Scone, attended to officiate; but an unexpected difficulty arose. Alan Durward, the great Justiciary, remarked, that the king ought not to be crowned before he was knighted, and that the day fixed for the ceremony was unlucky. The objection was selfish, and arose from Durward, who was then at the head of the Scottish chivalry, expecting that the honour of knighting Alexander would fall upon himself.† But Comyn earl of Menteith, insisted that there were frequent examples of the consecration of kings before the solemnity of their knighthood; he represented that the Bishop of St Andrews might perform both ceremonies; he cited the instance of William Rufus having been knighted by Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury; and he earnestly urged the danger of delay. Nor was this danger ideal. Henry the Third, in a letter to Rome, had artfully represented Scotland as a fief of England; and had requested the pope to interdict the ceremony of the coronation until Alexander obtained the permission of his feudal superior.‡

Mathew Paris, p. 646, and in Rymer, *Fœd.* vol. i. p. 428. See *Illustrations*, A. It is curious, as showing the state of the Scottish peerage in 1244. Neither Lesley nor Buchanan take any notice of this expedition and treaty.

* Tyrrel, *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 930.

† Fordun a Hearne, p. 759.

‡ Hailes, vol. i. p. 162. Rymer, vol. i. p. 463.

Fortunately the patriotic arguments of the Earl of Menteith prevailed. The Bishop of St Andrews girded the king with the belt of knighthood, and explained to him the respective oaths which were to be taken by himself and his subjects, first in Latin, and afterwards in Norman French.* They then conducted the boy to the regal chair, or sacred stone of Scone, which stood before the cross in the eastern division of the chapel. Upon this he sat : the crown was placed on his head, the sceptre in his hand ; he was invested with the royal mantle ; and the nobility, kneeling in homage, threw their robes beneath his feet. A Highland sennachy or bard, of great age, clothed in a scarlet mantle, with hair venerably white, then advanced from the crowd ; and, bending before the throne, repeated, in his native tongue, the genealogy of the youthful monarch, deducing his descent from the fabulous Gathelus. It is difficult to believe that, even in those days of credulity, the nobility could digest the absurdities of this savage genealogist.†

Henry the Third, at this time influenced by the devotional spirit of the age, had resolved on an expedition to the Holy Land ; and in order to secure tranquillity to his dominions on the side of Scotland, the marriage formerly agreed on, between his daughter Margaret and the young Scottish king, was solemnized at York on Christmas day, with much splendour and dignity.‡ The guests at the bridal were the King

* Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 81.

† Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. pp. 80, 81, 82. Chron. Melross, p. 219. Lord Hailes has omitted the anecdote of the Highland sennachy ; but there seems no reason to doubt its authenticity. It was probably relying on this story that Nisbet has asserted (Heraldry, vol. ii. p. iv. p. 155,) that it was a part of the coronation ceremony to repeat six generations of the king's ancestry. Martin's Western Isles, p. 241.

‡ Math. Paris, p. 829. Rymer, vol. i. p. 466. Fordun a Hearne, pp. 761, 762.

and Queen of England; Mary de Couci queen-dowager of Scotland, who had come from France, with a train worthy of her high rank;* the nobility, and the dignified clergy of both countries, and in their suite a numerous assemblage of vassals. A thousand knights, in robes of silk, attended the bride on the morn of her nuptials; and after some days spent in tournaments, feasting, and other circumstances of feudal revelry, the youthful couple, neither of whom had reached their eleventh year, set out for Scotland. "Were I," says Mathew Paris, in one of those bursts of monastic eloquence which diversify his annals, "to explain at length the abundance of the feasts, the variety and the frequent changes of the vestments, the delight and the plaudits occasioned by the jugglers, and the multitude of those who sat down to meat, my narrative would become hyperbolical, and might produce irony in the hearts of the absent. I shall only mention, that the archbishop, who, as the great Prince of the North, showed himself a most serene host to all comers, made a donation of six hundred oxen, which were all spent upon the first course; and from this circumstance, I leave you to form a parallel judgment of the rest."†

In the midst of these festivities, a circumstance of importance occurred. When Alexander performed homage for the lands which he held in England, Henry, relying upon the facility incident to his age, artfully proposed that he should also render fealty for his kingdom of Scotland. But the boy, either instructed before-hand, or animated with a spirit and wisdom above his years, replied, "That he had come into England upon a joyful and pacific errand, and

* Rymer, vol. i. edit. 1816, p. 278. Fordun a Hearne, p. 762.

† Math. Paris, p. 830. Winton, book vii. chap. x. vol. i. p. 383.

that he would not treat upon so arduous a question without the advice of the states of his kingdom ;” upon which the king dissembled his mortification, and the ceremony proceeded.*

Alan Durward, who, as High Justiciar, was the Scottish king’s chief counsellor, had married the natural sister of Alexander ; and, during the rejoicings at York, was accused, by Comyn earl of Menteith and William earl of Mar, of a design against the crown. The ground on which this accusation rested, was an attempt of Durward, in which he was seconded by the Scottish chancellor,† to procure from the court of Rome the legitimization of his wife, in order, said his accusers, that his children should succeed to the crown, if the king happened to die without heirs. From the ambitious and intriguing character of Durward, this story probably had some foundation in fact, and certain persons who were accused, actually fled from York ; upon which Henry made a new appointment of guardians to the young king, at the head of whom were placed the Earls of Menteith and Mar.

The peace of Scotland was for many years after this interrupted by that natural jealousy of England, so likely to rise in a kingdom its equal in the sense of independence, although its inferior in national strength. Henry, too, adopted measures not calculated to secure the confidence of the Scottish people. He sent into Scotland, under the name of guardian to the king, Geoffry de Langley, a rapacious noble, who was immediately expelled. He procured Innocent the Fourth

* Math. Paris, p. 829. Rapin’s History, by Tindal, vol. iii. p. 392, 8vo.

† Fordun a Hearne, p. 762. Chron. Melross, p. 179. Winton, vol. i. book vii. chap. x. p. 384.

to grant him a twentieth of the ecclesiastical revenues of that kingdom, nominally for the aid of the Holy Land, but really for his own uses; and he despatched Simon de Montfort, the Earl of Leicester, on a mission, described as secret in his instructions,* but the object of which may be conjectured from the increasing animosity of the disputes between the Scottish nobility. Many English attendants, some of them persons of rank and consequence, accompanied Margaret into her new kingdom; and between these intruders and the ancient nobility of Scotland, who fiercely asserted their privileges, disputes arose, which soon reached the ears of the English court. The young queen, accustomed to the indulgence and superior refinement of her father's court, bitterly lamented that she was immured in a dismal fortress, without being permitted to have her own attendants around her person, or allowed to enjoy the society of her husband, the king.†

These complaints, which appear to have been highly exaggerated, and a still more horrid report that the queen's physician had been poisoned by the same party because he ventured to remonstrate against the confinement of his mistress, were not lost upon Alan Durward, the late justiciar. He had accompanied Henry in his expedition to Guienne, where, by his courage and address, he regained the confidence of that capricious monarch;‡ and he now prevailed upon the king to despatch the Earl of Gloucester and Maunsell his chief secretary, to the Scottish court, for the purpose of dismissing those ministers who were found not sufficiently obsequious to England.§

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 523.

† Math. Paris, p. 908.

‡ Chron. Melross, p. 183.

§ Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. pp. 558, 559. See Illustrations, B.

In sending these noblemen upon this mission, Henry solemnly engaged to attempt nothing against the person of the Scottish king, and never to insist upon his being disinherited, or upon the dissolution of the marriage settlement;* promises, the particular history of which is involved in much obscurity, but which strongly, though generally, demonstrate, that the English king had been accused of designs inimical to the honour and independence of Scotland. At the head of the party which steadily opposed the interested schemes of Henry, was Walter Comyn earl of Menteith, whose loyalty we have seen insisting on the speedy coronation of the young king, when it was attempted to be deferred by Alan Durward. Many of the principal nobility, and some of the best and wisest of the clergy, were found in the same ranks.

The Earl of Gloucester and his associates accordingly repaired to Scotland; and, in concert with the Earls of Dunbar, Strathern, and Carrick, surprised the castle of Edinburgh, relieved the royal couple from the real or pretended durance in which they were held, and formally conducted them to the bridal chamber, although the king was yet scarcely fourteen years of age.† English influence appears now to have been predominant; and Henry, having heard of the success of his forerunners Maunsell and Gloucester, and conceiving that the time was come for the reduction of Scotland under his unfettered control, issued his writs to his military tenants, and assembled a numerous army. As he led this array towards the borders, he took care to conceal his real intentions, by directing, from Newcastle, a declaration, that in this progress to

* Rymer, vol. i. p. 559.

† Math. Paris, p. 908. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 90, book x. chap. ix.

visit his dear son Alexander, he should attempt nothing prejudicial to the rights of the king, or the liberties of Scotland.* In the meantime, the Comyns collected their forces, and the opposite faction suddenly removed the king and queen to Roxburgh, in which castle Alexander received Henry, who conducted him, with pomp and acclamation, to the Abbey of Kelso. The government of Scotland was there remodelled; a new set of counsellors appointed; and the party of the Comyns, with John Baliol and Robert de Ross, completely deprived of their political influence. In the instruments drawn up upon this occasion, some provisions were inserted, which were loudly complained of as derogatory to the dignity of the kingdom; the abettors of England were stigmatized as conspirators, who were equally obnoxious to prelates, barons, and burgesses; and the Bishop of Glasgow, the Bishop elect of St Andrews, the chancellor, and the Earl of Menteith, indignantly refused to affix their seals to a deed, which, as they asserted, compromised the liberties of the country.†

A regency was now appointed, which included the whole of the clergy and the nobility who were favourable to England,‡ to whom were intrusted the custody of the king's person, and the government of the realm for seven years, till Alexander had reached the age of

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. pp. 560, 561. The instrument is dated 25th August 1255.

† The Chronicle of Melrose, p. 181, calls the deed "*nefandissimum scriptum*." See Fordun a Goodal, book x. chap. ix. Winton, book vii. chap. x. vol. i. p. 385.

‡ Richard Inverkeithen bishop of Dunkeld, Peter de Ramsay bishop of Aberdeen, Malcolm earl of Fife, Patrick earl of Dunbar or March, Malise earl of Strathern, and Nigel earl of Carrick, Walter de Moray, David de Lindesay, Wilnam de Brechin, Robert de Meyners, Gilbert de Hay, and Hugh Gifford de Yester, were the heads of the English party. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. pp. 565, 566, 567.

twenty-one. Henry assumed to himself the title of “principal counsellor to the illustrious King of Scotland;” and the Comyns, with Bishop Gamelin, the Earl of Mar, Baliol, Ross, and their chief accomplices, were removed from all share in the government of the kingdom.*

Alexander, upon his part, engaged to treat his young queen with all honour and affection; and the Earl of Dunbar, according to a common solemnity of this age, swore upon the soul of the king, that every article of the agreement should be faithfully performed. Thus ended a negotiation conducted entirely by English influence; and which, although the ambition of the Comyns may have given some plausible colour to the designs of their enemies, was generally and justly unpopular in Scotland.† Alexander and his queen now repaired to Edinburgh; and Henry, after having attempted to recruit his exhausted coffers, by selling a pardon to John de Baliol, and confiscating the estates of Robert de Ross, returned to commit new attacks upon the property of his English subjects.‡

* Rotul. Patent. 39 Hen. III. m. 2, in protectionibus duabus pro Eugenio de Ergadia.

† Winton, book vii. chap. x.—

Thare wes made swylyk ordynans,
That wes gret grefe and displesans
Till of Scotland ye thre statis,
Burgens, Barownys, and Prelatis.

Nothing can be more slight or inaccurate than the account of the early transactions of Alexander's reign, to be found in Buchanan, Boece, and Major. Nor are our more modern historians, who have not submitted to the task of examining the original authorities, free from the same fault. Maitland gives almost a transcript of Buchanan. Lingard, the author of a valuable history of England, has advanced opinions regarding the conduct of Henry the Third and the once keenly-contested subject of homage, which do not appear to me to be well founded: and even Hailes has not exposed, in sufficiently strong colours, that cunning and ambition in the English king, which, under the mask of friendship and protection, concealed a design against the liberties of the kingdom.

‡ Mathew Paris, p. 911.

Upon his departure, Scotland became the scene of civil faction and ecclesiastical violence. There were at this time in that kingdom thirty-two knights and three powerful earls of the name of Comyn;* and these, with their armed vassals, assisted by many of the disgraced nobility, formed an effectual check upon the measures of the regency. Gamelin, the Bishop elect of St Andrews, and the steady enemy of English influence, unawed by his late removal, procured himself to be consecrated by the Bishop of Glasgow; and although placed without the protection of the laws, he yet, in an appeal to the court of Rome, induced the pope to excommunicate his accusers, and to declare him worthy of his bishopric.† Henry, enraged at the bold opposition of Gamelin, prohibited his return, and issued orders to arrest him if he attempted to land in England; while the regents performed their part in the persecution, by seizing the rich revenues of his see.‡

In the midst of these scenes of faction and disturbance, the King and Queen of Scotland proceeded to London on a visit to their father, and were received with great magnificence. They were entertained at Oxford, Woodstock, and in London. Tents were raised in the meadows for the accommodation of their followers; and Henry renewed to Alexander a grant of the honour of Huntingdon, which had been held by some of his predecessors.§ The party of the Comyns, however, were slowly regaining ground. The pope, by his judgment in favour of Gamelin, espoused their quarrel; and they soon received a powerful support

* Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 92.

† Chron. Melross, p. 181. Hailes, vol. i. p. 170, 4to.

‡ Rymer, Fæd. vol. i. p. 652.

§ Math. Paris, p. 930.

in Mary de Couci the widow of Alexander the Second, and John of Acre her husband, who at this time passed through England into Scotland.* This was deemed a favourable conjuncture by the delegates of the pope, to publish the sentence of excommunication against the counsellors of the king. The ceremony, in those days an affair of awful moment, was performed by the Bishop of Dumblane, and the Abbots of Jedburgh and Melrose, in the abbey church of Cambuskenneth, and repeated, “by bell and candle,” in every chapel in the kingdom.†

To follow this up, the Comyns now assembled in great strength: they declared that the government of the kingdom had been shamefully mismanaged,—that foreigners were promoted to the highest offices,—that their sovereign was detained in the hands of excommunicated and accursed persons,—and that an interdict would soon be fulminated against the whole kingdom.‡ Finding that their party increased in weight and popularity, they resorted to more desperate measures. Under cover of night they attacked the court of the king, which was then held at Kinross; seized the young monarch in his bed; carried him and his queen before morning to Stirling; made themselves masters of the great seal of the kingdom; and totally dispersed the opposite faction. Nor were they remiss in strengthening their interest by foreign alliance. They entered into a remarkable treaty with Wales—at this time the enemy of England—which, with a wisdom scarcely to be looked for in those rude times, included in its provisions some important regulations regarding the commerce of both countries.§

* Rymer, vol. i. p. 625.

‡ See Illustrations, C.

† Chron. Melross, p. 182.

§ Ibid. D.

Alan Durward meanwhile precipitately fled to England;* and the Comyns, eager to press their advantage to the utmost, assembled their forces, and marched with the king against the English party. A negotiation at length took place at Roxburgh; and the nobility and principal knights, who had leagued with Henry, engaged to submit themselves to the king and the laws, and to settle all disputes in a conference to be held at Forfar. This was merely an artifice to gain time, for they immediately fled to England; and the Earls of Hereford and Albemarle, along with John de Baliol, soon after repaired to Melrose, where the Scottish king awaited the arrival of his army. Their avowed purpose was to act as mediators between the two factions: their real intention to seize, if possible, the person of the king, and to carry him into England.† But the plot was suspected; and Alexander, with the Comyns, defeated all hopes of its success, by appointing for the scene of their conference the forest of Jedburgh, in which a great part of his troops had already assembled.

The two English earls, therefore, resumed their more pacific design of negotiation. It was difficult and protracted; so that in the interval, the king and the Comyns, having time to collect a large force, found themselves in a situation to insist upon terms which were alike favourable to their own power and to the liberty of the country. The King of England was compelled to dissemble his animosity, to forget his bitter opposition against Bishop Gamelin, and to reserve to some other opportunity all reference to the obnoxious treaty of Roxburgh. A new regency was

* Chron. Melross, p. 182.

† Chron. Melross, p. 183.

appointed, which left the principal power in the hands of the queen-mother and of the Comyns, but endeavoured to reconcile the opposite parties, by including in its numbers four of the former regents.* Meanwhile the country, torn by contending factions, was gradually reduced to a state of great misery. Men forgot their respect for the kingly authority, and despised the restraint of the laws; the higher nobles enlisted under one or other of the opposite parties, plundered the lands and slew the retainers of their rival barons; churches were violated, castles and hamlets razed to the ground, and the regular returns of seed-time and harvest interrupted by the flames of private war. In short, the struggle to resist English interference was fatal, for the time, to the prosperity of the kingdom; and what Scotland gained in independence, she lost in improvement and national happiness.†

At this crisis, when they had effectually succeeded in diminishing, if not destroying, the English influence, the Comyns lost the leader whose courage and energy were the soul of their councils. Walter Comyn earl of Menteith died suddenly. It was reported in England that his death was occasioned by a fall from his horse;‡ but a darker story arose in Scotland. The Countess of Menteith had encouraged a criminal passion for an English baron named Russel,§ and was openly accused of having poisoned her husband to

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 670.

† Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 85

‡ Math. Paris, p. 660

§ Buchanan, copying Boece, as he generally does, calls Russel *ignobilis Anglus*. But I suspect, that the paramour of the countess was John Russel, one of the witnesses, in 1220, who signs the agreement for the marriage of Johanna, sister of Henry the Third, to Alexander the Second, giving his obligation to Alexander for the fulfilment of the treaty, and who could not be an obscure individual. *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 240.

make way for her paramour, whom she married with indecent haste. Insulted and disgraced, she and her husband were thrown into prison, despoiled of their estates, and at last compelled to leave the kingdom.*

Encouraged by the death of his opponent, and anxious to regain his lost influence, the English king now became desirous that Alexander and his queen should pay him a visit at London; and for this purpose he sent William de Horton, a monk of St Albans, on a secret mission into Scotland. Horton arrived at the period when the king and his nobles were assembled in council, and found them jealous of this perpetual interference of England. They deemed these visits incompatible with the independence of the country; and the messenger of Henry met with great opposition.† The nature of the message increased this alarm. It was a request that Alexander and his queen should repair to London, to treat of matters of great importance, but which were not communicated to the parliament; and it was not surprising that the nobility, profiting by former experience, should have taken precautions against any sinister designs of Henry. Accordingly, the Earl of Buchan, Durward the Justiciar, and the Chancellor Wishart, were in their turn despatched upon a secret mission into England; and the result was, that Alexander and his queen consented to visit London, under two conditions: first, an express stipulation was made that, during their stay at court, neither the king, nor any of his attendants, were to be required to treat of state affairs; and, secondly, an oath was to be taken by the English monarch, that if the Queen of Scotland

* Hailes' Hist. vol. i. p. 172, 4to.

† Math. Paris, p. 985.

became pregnant, or if she gave birth to a child during her absence, neither the mother nor the infant should be detained in England;* so great, at this moment, in the minds of the Scottish nobility, was the jealousy of English ambition and intrigue.

In fulfilment of this promise, the King of Scotland repaired with a concourse of his nobility to the court of England; and left his queen, whose situation now speedily promised an heir to the Scottish throne, to follow him, by slow stages, with the Bishop of Glasgow. On her approach to St Albans, she was met by her younger brother Edmund, who received her with a splendid retinue, and conducted her in the morning to London. The object of this visit of Alexander was not solely to gratify the King of England. He was anxious to exercise his rights over the territory of Huntingdon, which he held of the English crown; and the payment of his wife's portion had been so long delayed, that he wished to reclaim the debt. The reception of the royal persons appears to have been unusually magnificent; and the country round the court was greatly exhausted by the sumptuous entertainments, and the intolerable expenses which they demanded.† In the midst of these festivities, the queen drew near her time; and, at the pressing instance of her father, it was agreed that she should lie-in at the court of England: not however without a renewed stipulation, sworn upon the soul of the king, that the infant, in the event of the death of its mother or of Alexander, should be delivered to an appointed body of the Scottish nobility.

Having secured this, Alexander returned to his

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. pp. 713, 714. Math. Westminster, p. 376.

† Math. Westminster, p. 376.

kingdom; and in the month of February 1261, his young queen was delivered at Windsor of a daughter, Margaret, afterwards married to Eric king of Norway.*

In the beginning of the following year, Henry seems to have interposed his good offices, to prevent a rupture between Alexander and Haco king of Norway, regarding the possession of the western islands, the petty chiefs of which had for a long period been feudatory to the Norwegian crown.† Their habits of constant war and piratical excursion had at this time rendered the Norwegians a formidable people; and their near vicinity to Scotland enabled them, at a very early period, to overspread the whole of the Western Archipelago. The little sovereignties of these islands, under the protection of a warlike government, appear to have been in a flourishing condition. They were crowded with people; and the useful and ornamental arts were carried in them to a higher degree of perfection than in the other European countries. A poet of the north, in describing a dress unusually gorgeous, adds, that it was spun by the Sudreyans.‡ And even in science and literature, this remarkable people had, in their colonies especially, attained to no inconsiderable distinction.§

The vicinity of such enterprising neighbours was particularly irksome to the Scottish kings, and they anxiously endeavoured to get possession of these islands. When treaty failed, they encouraged their subjects of Scotland to invade them; and Alan lord

* Math. Westminster, p. 377. The Chron. Melross, p. 185, places her birth in the year 1260. She certainly was not born as late as the 16th November, 1260.

† Macpherson's Geographical Illustrations of Scottish History, under the word "Ilis." A valuable work.

‡ Johnstone's Lodbrogar-Quida, stanza xv. and explanatory note.

§ Macpherson's Illustrations, ut supra, voce "Ilis."

of Galloway, assisted by Thomas earl of Athole, about thirty years before this, carried on a successful war against the isles, and expelled Olaf the Black, King of Man, from his dominions.* These Scottish chiefs had collected a large fleet, with a proportionably numerous army; and it required all the exertions of the Norwegian king to re-establish his vassal on his island throne. After this, the authority of Norway became gradually more and more precarious throughout the isles. Some of the chiefs were compelled, others induced by motives of interest, to renounce their allegiance, and to embrace the nearer superiority of Scotland: some, who held lands of both crowns, were uncertain to whom they should pay their paramount allegiance; and Alexander the Second, the immediate predecessor of Alexander the Third, after an unsuccessful attempt at negotiation, prepared an expedition for their complete reduction. The expressions used in threatening this invasion, may convince us that the Norwegians had not only acquired the sovereignty of the isles, but had established themselves upon the mainland of Scotland; for the Scottish king declares, "that he will not desist till he hath set his standard upon the cliffs of Thurso, and subdued all that the King of Norway possessed to the westward of the German Ocean."† Alexander the Second, however, lived only to conduct his fleet and army to the shores of Argyleshire; and, on the king's death, the object of the expedition was abandoned.‡

* Johnstone, *Antiquitates Celto-Normannicæ*, p. 30. See also a Memoir, by Mr Dillon, in the *Transactions of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries*, p. 356, vol. ii. p. 2. The fleet of Earl Alan alone consisted of 150 ships: small craft, of course, but formidable in piratic warfare.

† *Chronicle of Man*, p. 43.

‡ *Math. Paris*, p. 770. Mathew describes Alexander as having sailed on this expedition, for the purpose of compelling Angus of Argyle to do him

During the minority of Alexander the Third, all idea of reducing the isles seems to have been abandoned; but when the king was no longer a boy, the measure was seriously resumed: and after an unsuccessful embassy to the Norwegian court,* the Earl of Ross and other island chiefs were induced to invade the reguli, or petty kings of the Hebrides, in the western seas. Their expedition was accompanied with circumstances of extreme cruelty. The ketherans and soldiers of the isles, if we may believe the Norwegian Chronicles, not content with the sack of villages and the plunder of churches, in their wanton fury raised the children on the points of their spears, and shook them till they fell down to their hands: barbarities which might be thought incredible, were we not acquainted with the horrid atrocities which, even in our own days, have accompanied piratic warfare.†

Such conduct effectually roused Haco, the Norwegian king. He determined to revenge the injuries offered to his vassals, and immediately issued orders for the assembling of a fleet and army, whilst he repaired in person to Bergen to superintend the preparations for the expedition. The magnitude of these spread an alarm even upon the coasts of England. It was reported, that the Kings of Denmark and Norway, with an overwhelming fleet, had bent their course against the Scottish islands;‡ and although the apparent object of Haco was nothing more than the

homage for certain lands which were held of Norway: Alexander's object was to compel all the vassals of Norway to renounce their allegiance.

* Chronicle of Man, p. 45.

† The Chronicle of Man, p. 45, says, the Earl of Ross was assisted by Kearnach and the son of Macalmal. Macalmal is conjectured to be Macdonald. Who was Kearnach? As to the inhuman practice mentioned in the text, see Johnstone, Notes to the Norwegian Expedition.

‡ Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 772. Letter from Ralph de Nevil, captain of Bamborough castle.

protection of his vassals, yet the final destination of so powerful an armament was anxiously contemplated.

On the 7th of July, the fleet set sail from Herlover. The king commanded in person. His ship, which had been built at Bergen, was entirely of oak, of great dimensions,* and ornamented with richly-carved dragons, overlaid with gold. Every thing at first seemed to favour the expedition. It was midsummer, the day was fine, and innumerable flags and pennons flaunted in the breeze; the decks were crowded with knights and soldiers, whose armour glittered in the sun; and the armament, which was considered as the most powerful and splendid that had ever sailed from Norway, bore away with a light wind for Shetland, which it reached in two days.† Haco thence sailed to Orkney, where he proposed to separate his forces into two divisions, and to send one of these to plunder in the Firth of Forth; whilst he himself, remained in reserve, with his largest ships and the greater part of his army, in Orkney. It happened, however, that the higher vassals and retainers, who appear to have had a powerful influence in the general direction of the expedition, refused to go any where without the king himself; and this project was abandoned.‡ The fleet, therefore, directed its course to the south; and, after being joined by a small squadron which had previously been despatched to the westward,§ Haco conducted his ships into the bay of Ronaldsvoe, and sent mes-

* Norse Account of this Expedition, with its translation, published by Johnstone, p. 25. According to this work, Haco's ship had twenty-seven banks of oars; that is, twenty-seven seats for the rowers.

† Norse Account of the Expedition, pp. 38, 39. It calls it a mighty and splendid armament. Haco anchored in Breydeyar Sound.

‡ Norse Account, p. 43.

§ Observations on the Norwegian Expedition, Antiquarian Transactions, vol. ii. p. 363.

sengers to the neighbouring coast of Caithness to levy contributions. This country, exposed from its situation to perpetual piratic invasions, was, as we have seen, in 1249 under the dominion of Norway. But this did not long continue. The exertions of the Scottish government had succeeded in reducing the inhabitants; hostages were exacted for their fidelity; and now we find this remote district in the state of a Scottish province, exposed to the exactions of Norway.

No aid, however, appeared from Scotland; and the Caithnesians quietly submitted to the tribute which Haco imposed upon them. It is remarked by the Norwegian Chronicle, that when their king lay with his fleet in Ronaldsvoe, “a great darkness drew over the sun, so that only a little ring was bright round his orb.” The ancient historian thus unconsciously afforded to modern science the means of exactly ascertaining the date of this great expedition. The eclipse was calculated, and it was found to have taken place on the 5th of August, 1263,* and to have been annular at Ronaldsvoe in Orkney: a fine example of the clear and certain light reflected by the exact sciences upon history. Early in August, the king sailed across the Pentland Firth, having left orders for the Orkney men to follow him when their preparations were completed; thence he proceeded by the Lewes to the Isle of Sky, where he was joined by Magnus, the Lord of Man; and from this holding on to the Sound of Mull, he met Dugal and other Hebridean chiefs with their whole forces.

The united armament of Haco now amounted to above a hundred vessels, most of them large, all well

* The Chronicle of Melrose is thus evidently wrong in placing this expedition in 1262.

provided with men and arms; and, on the junction of the fleet, the business of piracy commenced. A division of the forces first took place.* A squadron of fifty ships, under Magnus and Dugal, was sent to plunder in the Mull of Kentire; five ships were despatched for the same purpose to Bute; and the king himself, with the rest of the fleet, remained at Gigha, a little island between the coast of Kentire and Isla. He was here met by King John, one of the island chiefs, whom Alexander the Second had in vain attempted to seduce from his fidelity to Norway. John was now, however, differently situated; and a scene took place which is strongly illustrative of feudal manners. Haco desired him to follow his banner, as was his duty; upon which the island prince excused himself. He affirmed that he had taken the oaths as a vassal of the Scottish king; that he held of him more lands than of his Norwegian master; and he entreated Haco to dispose of all those estates which he had conferred on him. This reasoning, although not agreeable to his powerful superior, was apparently such as Haco could not dispute; and after a short time John was dismissed, not only uninjured, but with presents.†

Many of these island chiefs found themselves, during this northern invasion, in a very distressing situation. On one hand, the destroying fleet of Haco lay close to the shores of their little territories, eager to plunder them should they manifest the slightest resistance. On the other, they had given hostages for their loyal behaviour to the King of Scotland; and the liberty, perhaps the lives, of their friends or

* Norse Account of the Expedition, p. 49.

† Ibid. p. 51. See also p. 69.

their children were forfeited if they deserted to the enemy. In this cruel dilemma was Angus lord of Kentire and Isla, apparently a person of high authority in these parts, and whose allegiance the Scottish king seems to have adopted every method to secure. He held his infant son as a hostage; an instrument had been drawn out, which declared his territories subject to instant forfeiture if he deserted; and the barons of Argyle were compelled to promise that they would faithfully serve the king against Angus of Isla, and unite in accomplishing his ruin, unless he continued true to his oaths.* But the power of the King of Scotland was remote; the vengeance of piratical warfare was at his door; and Angus, with another island prince, Murchad of Kentire, submitted to Haco, and delivered up the whole lands which they held of Alexander. A fine of a thousand head of cattle was esteemed a proper punishment for their desertion from Norway; and when they renewed their oaths to Haco, he promised, what he did not live to perform, to reconcile them to the offended majesty of Scotland.†

In the meantime, the squadron which had been despatched towards the Mull of Kentire, made a desolating descent upon the peninsula; but in the midst of their havoc, and when they were proceeding to attack the greater villages, they received letters from Haco, forbidding them to plunder, and commanding them to rejoin the king's fleet at Gigha. Haco next despatched one of his captains, with some small vessels, to join the little squadron which had sailed against Bute; and intelligence soon after reached him, that

* Observations on the Norwegian Expedition, *Antiquarian Transactions*, pp. 367, 368. See *Ayloff's Calendar of Ancient Charters*, pp. 336, 342.

† *Norse Account of the Expedition*, pp. 55, 56.

the castle of Rothesay, in that island, had been taken by his soldiers, and that the Scottish garrison had capitulated. A pirate chief, named Roderic, who claimed Bute as his inheritance, but who had been opposed by the islanders and outlawed by Alexander, was at this time with Haco. His knowledge of the seas in these quarters made him useful to the invaders, and the power of Haco enabled him to gratify his revenge. He accordingly laid waste the island, basely murdered part of the garrison of Rothesay, and leading a party of plunderers from Bute into Scotland, carried fire and sword into the heart of the neighbouring country.*

While the king's fleet lay at Gigha, Haco received messengers from the Irish Ostmen, with proposals of submitting themselves to his power ; under the condition that he would pass over to Ireland with his fleet, and grant them his protection against the attacks of their English invaders, who had acquired the principal towns upon the coast. In reply to this proposal, the king despatched Sigurd, one of his chief captains, to communicate with the Ostmen ;† and in the meantime, he himself, with the whole fleet, sailed round the point of Kentire, and, entering the Firth of Clyde, anchored

* Norse Account of the Expedition, pp. 63, 67. This valuable historical chronicle is interspersed with pieces of poetry, descriptive of the events which occurred. The invasion of Bute and the inroad of Rudri into Scotland are thus sung :

“The habitations of men, the dwellings of the wretched, flamed. Fire, the devourer of halls, glowed in their granaries. The hapless throwers of the dart fell near the swan-frequented plain, while south from our floating pines marched a host of warriors.”

† Norse Account of the Expedition, p. 67. These Ostmen, or Easterlings, appear to have been the descendants of the Norwegians, or Ostmen, who long inhabited the eastern coast of Ireland, and founded some of its best towns. They were still, in 1201, so considerable, that, at a recognition taken of the diocese of Limerick, the arbitrators were twelve English, twelve Irish, and twelve Ostmen. Edward the First gave Gilmorys, and other Ostmen of the county of Waterford, particular privileges.—Johnstone's Notes on p. 66 of the Norse Expedition.

in the sound of Kilbrannan, which lies between the island of Arran and the mainland.

Hitherto the great body of the Norwegian fleet had remained in the Hebrides, and Scotland was only made acquainted with this formidable invasion by the small squadrons which had been despatched for the purposes of plunder. But the whole naval armament of Haco, amounting to a hundred and sixty ships, as it entered the Firth of Clyde, became conspicuous from the opposite shores of Kyle, Carrick, and Wigtown; and the more immediate danger of a descent, induced the Scottish government to think seriously of some terms of pacification. Accordingly, there soon after arrived from Alexander a deputation of Prædicant, or Barefooted Friars, whose object was to sound Haco regarding the conditions upon which a peace might be concluded; and, in consequence of these overtures, five Norwegian commissioners* were sent to treat with the King of Scotland. They were honourably received by Alexander, and dismissed with a promise, that such terms of accommodation as the Scottish king could consent to, should be transmitted to Haco within a short time; and in the meanwhile a temporary truce was agreed on.

This was wise: for to delay any pacification, without irritating their enemy, was the manifest policy of Scotland. Every day gave them more time to levy and concentrate their army; and as the autumn was drawing to a close, it brought the Norwegians a nearer prospect of wreck and disaster from the winter storms. Envoys were now despatched from Alexander to Haco;

* These were Gilbert bishop of Hamar, Henry bishop of Orkney, Andrew Nicolson, Andrew Plytt, and Paul Soor.—Norse Account of the Expedition, p. 69.

and the moderate demands of the King of Scotland made it apparent, that, at this moment, he was not prepared to resist the fleet and army of Norway. He claimed Bute, Arran, and the two islands of the Cumrays, all lying in the Firth of Clyde, as the property of Scotland; but it appears that he was willing to have given up to Norway the whole of the Isles of the Hebrides.* These terms, so advantageous to Haco, were, fortunately for Scotland, rejected: no pacification took place; and the fleet of Norway bore in through the narrow strait between the larger and the lesser Cumray, thus menacing a descent upon the coast of Ayrshire, which is scarcely two miles distant.

The crews had now run short of provisions, the weather was daily becoming more threatening, a strong Scottish force of armed peasants had gathered on the shore, and Haco was anxiously exhorted by his officers to give orders for a descent on the coast, were it only to recruit, by plunder, the exhausted state of their provisions.† This measure, it seems, he was unwilling to adopt, without a last message to the King of Scotland; and for this purpose he sent an ambassador‡ to Alexander, whose commission was worded in the true style of ancient chivalry. He was to propose, "That the sovereigns should meet amicably at the head of their armies, and treat regarding a peace, which if, by the grace of God, it took place, it was well; but if the attempt at negotiation failed, he was to throw down the gauntlet from Norway, to challenge the Scottish monarch to debate the matter with his army in the field, and let God, in his pleasure, determine the victory." Alexander, however, would agree

* Norse Account of the Expedition, p. 71.

† Ibid. pp. 73, 75.

‡ Kolbein Rich was his name.

to no explanation; but “seemed,” says the Norse Chronicle, “in no respect unwilling to fight;”* upon which the envoy returned from his unsatisfactory mission, and the truce was declared at an end.

Haco next despatched a fleet of sixty ships up the Clyde, into Loch Long, under the command of Magnus king of Man, and with him four Hebridean chiefs, and two principal Norwegian officers. They penetrated and plundered to the head of Loch Long; they then took to their boats, and dragging them across the narrow neck of land between Arrochar and Tarbet, launched them into Loch Lomond, the islands of which lake were then full of inhabitants. To these islands the Scots had retreated for security, no doubt; little anticipating the measure, which the lightness of the Norwegian craft, and the active perseverance of that bold people, enabled them to carry into execution. Their safeholds now became the scenes of plunder and bloodshed; the islands were wasted with fire, the shores of this beautiful lake completely ravaged, and the houses on its borders burnt to the ground.† After this, one of the Hebridean chiefs made an expedition into the rich and populous county of Stirling, in which he slew great numbers of the inhabitants and returned, driving herds of cattle before him, and loaded with booty.‡

But the measure of Norwegian success was now full: the spirit of the Scottish nation was highly exasperated—time had been given them to collect their forces—and, as had been foreseen, the elements began

* Norse Account of the Expedition.

† Ibid. pp. 78, 79. Sturlas sings of this,—“The persevering shielded warriors of the thrower of the whizzing spear drew their boats across the broad isthmus. Our fearless troops, the exactors of contribution, with flaming brands wasted the populous islands in the lake, and the mansions around its winding bays.”

‡ Excerpt. e Rotul. Compot. Temp. Alex. III. p. 38.

to fight on their side. Upon returning to their ships in Loch Long, the invaders encountered so dreadful a storm, that ten of their vessels were completely wrecked.* King Haco still lay with the rest of the fleet in the Firth of Clyde, near the little islands of the Cumrays, when, on Monday the 1st of October, a second tempest came on, accompanied with such torrents of hailstones and rain, that the Norwegians ascribe its extreme violence to the powers of enchantment—a prevalent belief at this period.† The wind blew from the south-west, making the coast of Ayrshire a lee-shore to the fleet, and thus infinitely increasing its distress. At midnight a cry of distress was heard in the king's ship; and before assistance could be given, the rigging of a transport, driven loose by the storm, got entangled with the royal vessel, and carried away her head. The transport then fell alongside, so that her anchor grappled the cordage of the king's ship; and Haco, perceiving the storm increasing, and finding his own ship beginning to drag her anchors, ordered the cable of the transport to be cut, and let her drift to sea. When morning came, she and another vessel were seen cast ashore. The wind still increased; and the king, imagining that the powers of magic might be controlled by the services of religion, rowed in his long boat to the islands of the Cumrays, and there, amid the roaring of the elements, ordered mass to be celebrated.‡ But the tempest increased in fury. Many vessels cut away

* Norse Account of the Expedition, pp. 81, 83, 84.

† "Now our deep-inquiring sovereign encountered the horrid powers of enchantment. The troubled flood tore many fair galleys from their moorings, and swept them anchorless before its waves. * * The roaring billows and stormy blast threw shielded companies of our adventurous nation on the Scottish strand."—Norse Account, p. 87.

‡ Norse Account of the Expedition, p. 85.

their masts ; his own ship, although secured by seven anchors, drove from her moorings ; five galleys were cast ashore, and the rest of the fleet violently beat up the channel towards Largs.*

Meanwhile, Alexander had neglected no precaution which was likely to ensure the discomfiture of this great armament. Before it appeared on the coast, the warders in the different castles which commanded a view of the sea, were directed to keep a strict look-out ; a communication by beacons was established with the interior of the country ;† and now, when the tempest seemed to threaten the total destruction of their enemies, a multitude of armed peasants hovered on the surrounding heights observing every motion of the Norwegian fleet, and ready to take instant advantage of its distress. Accordingly, when the five galleys, with their armed crews, were cast ashore, the Scots rushed down from the heights, and attacked them. The Norwegians defended themselves with great gallantry ; and the king, as the wind had somewhat abated, succeeded in sending in boats with reinforcements ; but as soon as their crews landed, the Scots retired, satisfying themselves with returning during the night, to plunder the transports.‡

When morning broke, Haco came on shore with a large reinforcement, and ordered the transports to be lightened, and towed to the ships. Soon after, the Scottish army appeared at a distance, upon the high grounds above the village of Largs ; and as it advanced, the sun's rays glancing from the lines, made it evident

* Norse Account of the Expedition, p. 85.

† Observations on the Norwegian Expedition against Scotland, pp. 390, 391. Also, Excerpt. e Rot. Compot. Tempore Regis Alexandri III. pp. 9, 31, 48.

‡ Norse Account of the Expedition, p. 91.

to the Norwegians, that a formidable body of troops were about to attack them. The cavalry, although they only amounted to fifteen hundred horsemen, had a formidable appearance on the heights, most of them being knights or barons from the neighbouring counties, armed from head to heel, and mounted on Spanish horses, which were clothed in complete armour.* All the other horses were defended with breastplates; and besides this cavalry, there was a numerous body of foot soldiers, well accoutred, and for the most part armed with spears and bows. This force was led by the king in person, along with Alexander the High Steward of Scotland.†

On the shore, at this time, was a body of nine hundred Norwegians, commanded by three principal leaders; two hundred men occupied in advance a small hill which rises behind the village of Largs, and the rest of the troops were drawn up on the beach. With the advance also was the king, whom, as the main battle of the Scots approached, his officers anxiously entreated to row out to his fleet, and send them farther reinforcements. Haco, for some time, pertinaciously insisted on remaining on shore; but as he became more and more exposed, the barons would not consent to this, and at last prevailed on him to return in his barge to his fleet at the Cumrays. The van of the Scottish army now began to skirmish with the advance of the Norwegians, and greatly outnumbering them, pressed on both flanks with so much fury, that, afraid of being surrounded and cut to pieces, they began a retreat, which soon changed into a flight. At this

* Norse Account of the Expedition, pp. 94, 95.

† Norse Account of the Expedition, p. 95. Winton, vol. i. p. 387. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 98.

critical moment, when everything depended on Haco's returning with additional forces before the main body of the Scots had time to charge his troops on the beach, a third storm came on, which completed the ruin of the Norwegian fleet, already shattered by the former furious gales. This cut off all hopes of landing a reinforcement, and they were completely routed. Indeed, without a miracle, it could not have been otherwise. The main body of the Scots far outnumbered the force of the Norwegians;* and their advance, under Ogmund, flying back in confusion, threw into disorder the small squadrons which were drawn up on the beach. Many of these attempted to save themselves, by leaping into their boats and pushing off from land; others endeavoured to defend themselves in the transport which had been stranded; and, between the anger of the elements, the ceaseless showers of missile weapons from the enemy, and the impossibility of receiving succour from the fleet, their army was greatly distressed. Their leaders, too, began to desert them; and their boats became overloaded and went down.† The Norwegians were now driven along the shore, but they constantly rallied, and behaved with their accustomed national bravery. Some had placed themselves in and round the stranded vessels; and while the main body retreated slowly, and in good order, a conflict took place beside the ships, where Piers de Curry,‡ a Scottish knight, was encountered and slain. Curry appears to have been a person of some note, for he and the Steward of Scotland are the only Scottish soldiers whose names have

* Norse Account of the Expedition, p. 97, says, that ten Scots fought against one Norwegian. This is no doubt exaggerated.

† Norse Account of the Expedition, p. 97.

‡ Winton, vol. i. p. 388. "Perrys of Curry call'd be name."

come down to us as acting a principal part upon this occasion. His death is minutely described in the Norwegian Chronicle. Gallantly mounted, and splendidly armed, his helmet and coat of mail being inlaid with gold, Sir Piers rode fearlessly up to the Norwegian line, attempting, in the chivalrous style of the times, to provoke an encounter. In this he was soon satisfied; for a Norwegian, who conducted the retreat, irritated by his defiance, engaged him in single combat; and after a short resistance, killed him by a blow which severed his thigh from his body, the sword cutting through the cuisses of his armour, and penetrating to his saddle.* A conflict now took place round the body of this young knight, the plunder of whose rich armour the retreating Norwegians could not resist; their little square was thrown into confusion; and, as the Scots pressed on, the slaughter became great. Haco, a Norse baron, and near in blood to the king, was slain, along with many others of the principal leaders; and the Norwegians would have been entirely cut to pieces, if they had not at last succeeded in bringing a reinforcement from the fleet, by landing their boats through a tremendous surf.†

These new troops instantly attacked the enemy upon two points; and their arrival reinvigorated the Norsemen, and enabled them to form anew. It was now evening, and the day had been occupied by a protracted battle, or rather a succession of obstinate skirmishes. The Norwegians, although they fought with uncommon spirit, had sustained severe loss; and they now made a last effort to repulse the Scots from the high grounds immediately overhanging the shore.

* Norse Account of the Expedition, p. 99.

† Ibid. p. 101.

The impetuosity of their attack succeeded, and the enemy were driven back after a short and furious resistance.* The relics of this brave body of invaders then re-embarked in their boats, and, although the storm continued, arrived safely at the fleet.

During the whole of this conflict, which lasted from morning till night, the storm continued raging with unabated fury, and the remaining ships of Haco were dreadfully shattered and distressed. They drove from their anchors, stranded on the shore, where multitudes perished—struck against shallows and rocks, or found equal destruction by running foul of each other; and the morning presented a beach covered with dead bodies, and a sea strewn with sails, masts, cordage, and all the melancholy accompaniments of wreck.† A truce was now granted to the king; and the interval employed in burying his dead, and in raising above them those rude memorials, which, in the shape of tumuli and huge perpendicular stones, still remain to mark the field of battle. The Norwegians then burnt the stranded vessels; and, after a few days, having been joined by the remains of the fleet, which had been sent up Loch Long, their shattered navy weighed anchor, and sailed towards Arran.‡

In Lamrash bay the king was met by the commissioners whom he had sent to Ireland, and they assured him that the Irish Ostmen would willingly maintain his forces, until he had freed them from the dominion of the English. Haco was eager to embrace the proposal. He appears to have been anxious to engage in any new

* Norse Account of the Expedition, p. 103. "At the conflict of corslets on the blood-red hill, the damasked blade hewed the mail of hostile tribes, ere the Scot, nimble as the hound, would leave the field to the followers of our all-conquering king."

† Fordun, chap. xvi. book x. vol. ii. p. 98.

‡ Observations on the Norwegian Expedition, Antiq. Trans. vol. ii. p. 385.

expedition which might have banished their recent misfortunes from the minds of his soldiers, whilst it afforded him another chance of victory, with the certainty of reprovisioning the fleet; but their late disasters had made too deep an impression; and, on calling a council, the Irish expedition was opposed by the whole army.*

The shattered squadron, therefore, steered for the Hebrides; and in passing Isla, again levied a large contribution on that island. The northern monarch, however, now felt the difference between sailing through this northern archipelago, as he had done a few months before, with a splendid and conquering fleet, when every day brought the island princes as willing vassals of his flag, and retreating as he now did, a baffled invader. His boat crews were attacked, and cut off by the islanders. He appears to have in vain solicited an interview with John the prince of the Isles. The pirate chiefs who had joined him, disappointed of their hopes of plunder, returned to their ocean strongholds; and although he went through the forms of bestowing upon his followers the islands of Bute and Arran, with other imaginary conquests, all must have seen, that the success and power of Scotland rendered these grants utterly unavailing.† The weather, too, which had been his worst enemy, continued lowering, and winter had set in. The fleet encountered, in their return a severe gale off Isla; and, after doubling Cape Wrath, were met in the Pentland Firth by a second storm, in which one vessel, with all on board, went down, and another narrowly escaped the same fate. The king's ship, however, with the rest of the fleet,

* Norse Account of the Expedition, p. 109.

† Ibid. pp. 111, 113, 117.

weathered the tempest, and at last arrived in Orkney on the 29th of October.*

It was here found advisable to grant the troops permission to return to Norway; as, to use the simple expression of the Norwegian Chronicle, "many had already taken leave for themselves." At first the king resolved on accompanying them; but anxiety of mind, the incessant fatigues in which he had passed the summer and autumn, and the bitter disappointment in which they ended, had sunk deep into his heart, and the symptoms of a mortal distemper began to show themselves in his constitution. His increasing sickness soon after this confined him to his chamber; and although for some time he struggled against the disease, and endeavoured to strengthen his mind by the cares of government and the consolations of religion, yet all proved in vain. At last, feeling himself dying, the spirit of the old Norse warrior seemed to revive with the decay of his bodily frame; and, after some time spent in the services of the church, he commanded the Chronicles of his ancestors the Pirate Kings to be read to him. On the 12th of December, the principal of the nobility and clergy, aware that there was no hope, attended in his bedchamber. Though greatly debilitated, Haco spoke distinctly, bade them all affectionately farewell, and kissed them. He then received extreme unction, and declared that he left no other heir than Prince Magnus. The Chronicle of King Swerar was still read aloud to him when he was indisposed to sleep, but soon after this his voice became inaudible; and on the 15th of December, at midnight, he expired.†

Such was the conclusion of this memorable expedition against Scotland, which began with high hopes

* Norse Account of the Expedition, p. 119.

† Ibid. p. 131.

and formidable preparations, but ended in the disappointment of its object, and the death of its royal leader. It was evidently a fatal mistake in Haco to delay so long in petty expeditions against the Western Islands. While it was still summer, and the weather fair, he ought at once to have attempted a descent upon the mainland; and had he done so, Alexander might have been thrown into great difficulties. Delay and protracted negotiation was the policy of the Scots. They thus avoided any general battle; and they knew that if they could detain the Norwegian fleet upon the coast till the setting in of the winter storms, its destruction was almost inevitable. Boece, in his usual inventive vein, covers the field with 25,000 dead Norwegians, and allows only four ships to have been saved to carry the king to his grave in Orkney. But all this is fiction; and the battle of Largs appears to have been nothing more than a succession of fortunate skirmishes, in which a formidable armament was effectually destroyed by the fury of the elements, judiciously seconded by the bravery of the Scots.

The accounts of the death of Haco, and the news of the queen having been delivered of a son, were brought to King Alexander on the same day;* so that he was at once freed from a restless and powerful enemy, and could look forward to a successor of his own blood. Nor did he lose any time in following up the advantages already gained, by completing the reduction of the little kingdom of Man, and the whole of the Western Isles. For this purpose, he levied an army with the object of invading the Isle of Man, and compelled the

* Winton, vol. i. pp. 389, 390. Mackenzie, in his *Lives of Scottish Writers*, vol. ii. p. 86, mentions a fragment of the records of Colm-kill, which was in possession of the Earl of Cromarty, as containing an account of the battle of Largs.

petty chiefs of the Hebrides to furnish a fleet for the transport of his troops. But the King of Man, terrified at the impending vengeance, sent envoys with messages of submission; and, fearful that these would be disregarded, set out himself, and met Alexander, who had advanced on his march as far as Dumfries.* At this place the Island Prince became the liegeman of the King of Scotland, and consented that, in future, he should hold his kingdom of the Scottish crown; binding himself to furnish to his lord paramount, when required by him, ten galleys or ships of war, five with twenty-four oars and five with twelve.

A military force, commanded by the Earl of Mar, was next sent against those unfortunate chiefs of the Western Isles, who, during the late expedition, had remained faithful to Haco.† Some were executed, all were reduced, and the disputes with Norway were finally settled by a treaty, in which that country agreed to yield to Scotland all right over Man, the Æbudæ, and the islands in the western seas. The islands in the south seas were also included, but those of Orkney and Shetland expressly excepted. The inhabitants of the Hebrides were permitted the option of either retiring with their property, or remaining to be governed in future by Scottish laws. On the part of the king and the Estates of Scotland, it was stipulated that they were to pay to Norway four thousand marks of the Roman standard, and a yearly quit-rent of a hundred marks sterling for ever. The King of

* Fordun a Goodal, book x. chap. xviii. vol. ii. p. 101. In Ayloffe's Calendar of Ancient Charters, p. 328, we find the letter of the King of Man to the King of Scotland, *quod tenebit terram Man de rege Scotiæ*. It was one of the muniments taken out of Edinburgh castle, and carried to England by Edward the First.

† Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. pp. 101, 102. Excerpt. e Rotul. Compot. Temp. Alex. III. p. 18.

Man received investiture as a vassal of Alexander; and all parties engaged to fulfil their obligations, under a penalty of ten thousand marks, to be exacted by the pope.*

Ottobon de Fieschi was at this time the papal legate in England, and to defray the expenses of his visitation, he thought proper to demand a contribution from each cathedral and parish church in Scotland. The king, however, acting by the advice of his clergy, peremptorily refused the demand; appealed to Rome; and, when Ottobon requested admittance into Scotland, steadily declared that he should not set a foot over the Border. The legate next summoned the Scottish bishops to attend upon him in England whenever he should hold his council; and he required the clergy to despatch two of their number to appear as their representatives. This they agreed to; but the representatives were sent, not as the vassals of the papacy, but as the members of an independent church. Such, indeed, they soon showed themselves; for when the legate procured several canons to be enacted regarding Scotland, the Scottish clergy resolutely disclaimed obedience to them. Incensed at this conduct, Clement the Fourth shifted his ground, and demanded from them a tenth of their benefices, to be paid to Henry of England, as an aid for an approaching crusade. The answer of Alexander and his clergy was here equally decided: Scotland itself, they said, was ready to equip for the crusade a body of knights suitable to the strength and resources of the kingdom, and they

* The treaty will be found in Fordun by Hearne, p. 1353-5. It is dated 20th July, 1366. In the account of the treaty, Lord Hailes has made a slight error, when he says, that the patronage of the bishoprick of Sodor was reserved to the Archbishop of Drontheim. The patronage was expressly ceded to Alexander, but the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was reserved in favour of the Archbishop of Drontheim.

therefore rejected the requisition. Accordingly, David earl of Athole, Adam earl of Carrick, and William lord Douglas, with many other barons and knights, assumed the cross, and sailed for Palestine.*

In consequence, however, of the papal grant, Henry attempted to levy the tenth upon the benefices in Scotland. The Scottish clergy refused the contribution, appealed to Rome, and, in addition to this, adopted measures, which were singularly bold, and well calculated to secure the independence of the Scottish church. They assembled a provincial council at Perth, in which a bishop of their own was chosen to preside, and where canons for the regulation of their own church were enacted. This they contended they were entitled to do, by the bull of Pope Honorius the Fourth granted in the year 1225; and, aware of the importance of making a vigorous stand at this moment, by their first canon it was appointed that an annual council should be held in Scotland; and by their second, that each of the bishops should assume, in rotation, the office of "Protector of the Statutes," or Conservator Statutorum. These canons remain to this day an interesting specimen of the ancient ecclesiastical code of Scotland.†

About this time happened an incident of a romantic nature, with which important consequences were connected. A Scottish knight of high birth, Robert de Bruce, son of Robert de Bruce, lord of Annandale and Cleveland, was passing on horseback through the domains of Turnberry, which belonged to Marjory

* Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 109, book x. chap. xxiv. Holinshed, vol. i. p. 406, gives as the names of the crusading nobles, the Earls of Carrick and Athole, John Steward, Alexander Cumin, Robert Keith, George Durward, John Quincy, and William Gordon.

† These cannons were printed by Wilkins in his Concilia, and in a small 4to. by Lord Hailes. See Hailes' Hist. vol. i. p. 149.

countess of Carrick.* The lady happened at the moment to be pursuing the diversion of the chase, surrounded by a retinue of her squires and damsels. They encountered Bruce. The young countess was struck by his noble figure, and courteously entreated him to remain and take the recreation of hunting. Bruce, who, in those feudal days, knew the danger of paying too much attention to a ward of the king, declined the invitation, when he found himself suddenly surrounded by the attendants; and the lady, riding up, seized his bridle, and led off the knight, with gentle violence, to her castle of Turnberry. Here, after fifteen days' residence, the adventure concluded as might have been anticipated. Bruce married the countess without the knowledge of the relations of either party, and before obtaining the king's consent; upon which Alexander seized her castle of Turnberry and her whole estates. The intercession of friends, however, and a heavy fine, conciliated the mind of the monarch. Bruce became, in right of his wife, Lord of Carrick; and the son of this marriage of romantic love was the great Robert Bruce, the restorer of Scottish liberty.†

Two years previous to this (1272) died Henry the Third of England,‡ after a reign of nearly sixty years. His character possessed nothing that was great; his genius was narrow; his temper wavering; his courage, happily, seldom tried; and he was addicted, like many weak princes, to favouritism. At times, however, he had permitted himself to be guided by able ministers; and

* Although all the historians call this lady Martha, yet she is named Marjory by her son, King Robert Bruce. Register of the Great Seal, p. 108; and Marjory was the name of King Robert's daughter.

† Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 114, book x. chap. xxix.

‡ On 16th Nov. 1272.

the vigour, talents, and kingly endowments of his son Edward the First, shed a lustre over the last years of his reign, which the king himself could never have imparted to it. At the coronation of this great prince, who succeeded Henry, Alexander, and his queen the new king's sister, attended with a retinue of great pomp and splendour. He took care, however, to obtain a letter under the hand of the English monarch, declaring that the friendly visit should not be construed into any thing prejudicial to the independence of Scotland,*—a policy which the peculiarities of feudal tenure made frequent at this time; for we find Edward himself, when some years afterwards he agreed to send twenty ships to the King of France, his feudal superior for the duchy of Normandy, requiring from that prince an acknowledgment of the same description.

The designs of Edward upon Scotland had not yet, in any degree, betrayed themselves, and the kingly brothers appear to have met on cordial terms. Both were in the prime of manhood; Alexander having entered, and Edward having just completed, his thirty-fourth year. Scotland, still unweakened by the fatal controversies between Bruce and Baliol, was in no state to invite ambitious aggression. The kingdom was peaceful, prosperous, and loyal, possessing a warlike and attached nobility, and a hardy peasantry, lately delivered, by the defeat of Haco and the wise acquisition of the Western Isles, from all disturbance in the only quarter where it might be dreaded; and from the age of Alexander, and his queen, who had already born him three children, the nation could look with some certainty to a successor. Edward, on the

* Ayloffe's Calendar of Ancient Charters, 328, 342. Leland's Collectanea, vol. ii. p. 471.

other hand, who had lately returned from Palestine, where he had greatly distinguished himself, received his brother-in-law with that courtesy and kindness which was likely to be increased by his long absence, and by the perils he had undergone. About this time the pope sent into Scotland an emissary named Benenund de Vicci, corrupted into Bagimont, to collect the tenth of all the ecclesiastical benefices, the estimate being made not according to the "ancient extent, but the true value." The tax appears to have been strictly exacted, and went by the name of Bagimont's Roll.*

All went prosperously on between Edward and Alexander for some time. A dispute which had occurred between the King of Scots and the Bishop of Durham, in which that prelate complained that an encroachment had been made upon the English marches, was amicably settled; and Edward, occupied entirely with his conquest of Wales,—and according to his custom, whenever engaged in war, concentrating his whole energies upon one point,—had little leisure to think of Scotland. The domineering disposition of the English king first showed itself regarding the feudal service of homage due to him by his Scottish brother, for the lands which he held in England; and he seems early to have formed the scheme of entrapping Alexander into the performance of a homage so vague and unconditional, that it might hereafter be construed into the degrading acknowledgment that Scotland was a fief of England.

In 1277 we find him writing to the Bishop of Wells, that his beloved brother, the King of Scotland, had agreed to perform an unconditional homage, and that he was to receive it at the ensuing feast of

* Fordun a Hearne, p. 780.

Michaelmas.* This, however, could scarcely be true; the event showed that Edward had either misconceived or misstated the purpose of Alexander. He appeared before the English parliament at Westminster, and offered his homage in these words:—
 “I, Alexander king of Scotland, do acknowledge myself the liegeman of my Lord Edward king of England, against all deadly.” This Edward accepted, reserving his claim of homage for the kingdom of Scotland, when he should choose to prefer it. The King of Scots then requested that the oath should be taken for him by Robert de Bruce earl of Carrick, which being granted, that earl took the oath in these words:—

“I, Robert earl of Carrick, according to the authority given to me by my lord the King of Scotland, in presence of the King of England, and other prelates and barons, by which the power of swearing upon the soul of the King of Scotland was conferred upon me, have, in presence of the King of Scotland, and commissioned thereto by his special precept, sworn fealty to Lord Edward king of England in these words:—
 ‘I, Alexander king of Scotland, shall bear faith to my lord Edward king of England and his heirs, with my life and members, and worldly substance; and I shall faithfully perform the services, used and wont, *for the lands and tenements which I hold of the said king.*’”
 Which fealty being sworn by the Earl of Carrick, the King of Scotland confirmed and ratified the same.†
 Such is an exact account of the homage performed by

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 109.

† Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 126. Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 22, misled by Knighton, book iii. chap. i. erroneously says, that the homage was performed by Alexander at Edward's coronation, and adds, that historians do not say whether it was for Scotland, or for the earldom of Huntingdon.

Alexander to Edward, as given in the solemn instrument by which the English monarch himself recorded the transaction. Alexander probably had not forgotten the snare in which Edward's father had attempted to entrap him, when still a boy; and the reservation of an unfounded claim over Scotland might justly have incensed him. But he wished not to break with Edward: he held extensive territories in England, for which he was willing, as he was bound in duty, to pay homage; yet he so guarded his attendance at Edward's coronation, and his subsequent oath of fealty, that the independence of Scotland as a kingdom, and his own independence as its sovereign, were not touched in the most distant manner; and the King of England, baffled in his hope of procuring an unconditional homage, was forced to accept it as it was given. It is material to notice, that in the instrument drawn up afterwards, recording the transaction, Edward appears to declare his understanding, that this homage was merely for the Scottish king's possessions in England, by again reserving his absurd claim of homage for Scotland, whenever he or his heirs should think proper to make it.

This matter being concluded, Alexander, who had suffered a severe domestic affliction in the death of his queen,* began to seek alliances for his children. He married his daughter Margaret to Eric king of Norway, then a youth in his fourteenth year. Her portion was fourteen thousand marks, the option being left to her father to give one-half of the sum in lands, provided that the rents of the lands were a hundred marks yearly for every thousand retained. The price of land at this early period of our history seems,

* Winton, vol. i. p. 391.

therefore, to have been ten years' purchase.* The young princess, accompanied by Walter Bullock earl of Menteith, his countess, the Abbot of Balmerino, and Bernard de Monte-alto, with other knight and barons, sailed for Norway; and on her arrival was honourably received and crowned as queen. The alliance was wise and politic. It promised to secure the wavering fealty of those proud and warlike island chiefs, who, whenever they wished to throw off their dependence on Scotland, pretended that they were bound by the ties of feudal vassalage to Norway, and whose power and ambition often required the presence of the king himself to quell.†

This marriage was soon after followed by that of Alexander the Prince of Scotland, then in his nineteenth year, to Margaret, a daughter of Guy earl of Flanders; the ceremony being performed at Roxburgh, and accompanied with fifteen days' feasting. Such alliances, so far as human foresight could reach, promised happiness to Alexander, while they gave an almost certain hope of descendants. But a dark cloud began to gather round Scotland, and a train of calamities, which followed in sad and quick succession, spread despondency through the kingdom.‡ The Prince of Scotland, who from infancy had been of a sickly constitution, died not long after his marriage, leaving no issue; and intelligence soon after came from Norway that his sister, Queen Margaret, was also dead,

* The marriage-contract, which is very long and curious, is to be found in Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1079, dated 25th July, 1281. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 125.

† In 1275 Alexander led an armed force against Man. Johnstone, Antiquit. Celto-Norm. pp. 41, 42. In 1282 Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan and Constable of Scotland, led an army to quell some island disturbances. Rymer, Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 205.

‡ Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 124. Winton, book vii. chap. x. vol. i. p. 391.

having left an only child, Margaret, generally called the Maiden of Norway: David, the second son of Alexander, had died when a boy;* and thus the King of Scotland, still in the flower of his age, found himself a widower, and bereft by death of all his children.

To settle the succession was his first care; and for this purpose a meeting of the Estates of the realm was held at Scone, on the 5th of February, 1283-4. The prelates and barons of Scotland there bound themselves to acknowledge Margaret princess of Norway, as their sovereign, failing any children whom Alexander might have, and failing any issue of the Prince of Scotland deceased.† The parliament in which this transaction took place, having assembled immediately after the death of the prince, it was uncertain whether the princess might not yet present the kingdom with an heir to the crown. In the meantime, the king thought it prudent to make a second marriage, and chose for his bride a young and beautiful woman, Joleta, daughter of the Count de Dreux. The nuptials were celebrated with great pomp, and in presence of a splendid concourse of the French and Scottish nobility, at Jedburgh. In the midst of the rejoicings, and when music and pastime were at the highest, a strange masque was exhibited, in which a spectral creature like Death, glided with fearful gestures amongst the revellers, and at length suddenly vanished. The whole was no doubt intended as a mummary; but it was too well acted, and struck such terror into the festive assembly,‡ that the chronicler, Fordun, considers it as a supernatural shadowing out of the future misfortunes of

* *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 266.

† *Winton*, vol. i. p. 397. *Fœdera*, vol. ii. pp. 582, 1091.

‡ *Fordun a Goodal*, vol. ii. p. 128, book x. chap. xi.

the kingdom. These misfortunes too rapidly followed. Alexander, riding late, near Kinghorn, was counselled by his attendants, as the night was dark, and the road precipitous, not to pass Inverkeithing till the morning. Naturally courageous, however, he insisted on galloping forward, when his horse suddenly stumbled over a rocky cliff above the sea, fell with its rider, and killed him on the spot.* He died in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign; and his death, at this particular juncture, may be considered as one of the deepest amongst those national calamities which chequer the history of Scotland.

Alexander's person was majestic; and although his figure was too tall, and his bones large, yet his limbs were well formed, and strongly knit. His countenance was handsome, and beamed with a manly and sweet expression, which corresponded with the courageous openness and sincerity of his character. He was firm and constant in his purposes; yet, guided by prudence and an excellent understanding, this quality never degenerated into a dangerous obstinacy. His inflexible love of justice, his patience in hearing disputes, his affability in discourse, and facility of access, endeared him to the whole body of his people; whilst his piety, untinctured with any slavish dread, whilst he acknowledged the spiritual supremacy of the popedom, rendered him the steadfast friend of his own clergy, and their best defender against any civil encroachments of the see of Rome. In his time, therefore, to use the words of the honest and affectionate Fordun,—“The church flourished, its ministers were treated with reverence, vice was openly dis-

* Trivetii Annales, p. 267. He died March 16, 1285-6. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 128.

couraged, cunning and treachery were trampled under foot, injury ceased, and the reign of virtue, truth, and justice, was maintained throughout the land." We need not wonder that such a monarch was long and affectionately remembered in Scotland. Attended by his justiciary, by his principal nobles, and a military force which awed the strong offenders, and gave confidence to the oppressed, it was his custom to make an annual progress through his kingdom, for the redress of wrong, and the punishment of delinquents. For this purpose, he divided the kingdom into four great districts; and on his entering each county, the sheriff had orders to attend on the kingly judge, with the whole militia of the shire,* and to continue with the court till the king had heard all the appeals of that county, which were brought before him. He then continued his progress, accompanied by the sheriff and his troops; nor were these dismissed till the monarch had entered a new county, where a new sheriff awaited him with the like honours and attendance.

In this manner the people were freed from the charge of supporting those overgrown bands of insolent retainers which swelled the train of the Scottish nobles, when they waited on the king in his progresses; and as the dignified prelates and barons were interdicted by law from travelling with more than a certain number of horse in their retinue, the poor commons had leisure to breathe, and to pursue their honest occupations.†

In Alexander's time, many vessels of different countries came to Scotland, freighted with various

* Fordun a Goodal, book x. chap. xli. vol. ii. p. 129.

† Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 129, 130.

kinds of merchandise, with the design of exchanging them for the commodities of our kingdom. The king's mind, however, was unenlightened on the subject of freedom of trade; and the frequent loss of valuable cargoes by pirates, wrecks, and unforeseen arrestments, had induced him to pass some severe laws against the exportation of Scottish merchandise. Burgesses, however, were allowed to traffic with these foreign merchantmen; and in a short time the kingdom became rich in every kind of wealth; in the productions of the arts and manufactures; in money, in agricultural produce,* in flocks and herds; so that many, says an ancient historian, came from the West and East to consider its power, and to study its polity. Amongst these strangers, there arrived in a great body, the richest of the Lombard merchants, who offered to establish manufacturing settlements in various parts of the country. They specified among other places the mount above Queensferry, and an island near Cramond, and only asked of the king certain spiritual immunities. Unfortunately, the proposal of these rich and industrious men, for what cause we cannot tell, proved displeasing to some powerful members of the state, and was dismissed; but from an expression of the historian we may gather, that the king himself was desirous to encourage them, and that favourable

* Ynwmen, pewere Karl, or Knawe
That wes of mycht an ox til hawe,
He gert that man hawe part in pluche;
Swa wes corn in his land enwche;
Swa than begouth, and efter lang
Of land wes mesure, ane ox-ga.
Mychty men that had mā
Oxyn, he gert in pluchys ga.
Be that vertu all his land
Of corn he gert be abownda.

Winton, vol. i. p. 400.

terms for a settlement would have been granted, had not death stepped in and put an end to the negotiation.*

The conduct pursued by this king, in his intercourse with England, was marked by a judicious union of the firmness and dignity which became an independent sovereign with the kindliness befitting his near connexion with Edward; but, warned by the attempts which had been first made by the father and followed up by the son, he took care, that when invited to the English court, it should be expressly acknowledged† that he came there as the free monarch of an independent country.

To complete the character of this prince, he was temperate in his habits, his morals were pure, and in all his domestic relations, kindness and affection were conspicuous.‡ The oldest Scottish song, which has yet been discovered, is an affectionate little monody on the death of Alexander, preserved by Winton, one of the fathers of our authentic Scottish history.§

* Fordun, book x. chap. xli. xlii. vol. ii. pp. 129, 130.

† Ayloffe's Calendar of Ancient Charters, p. 328.

‡ Towards the conclusion of this reign, it is said that an awful visitant for the first time appeared in Scotland—the plague; but we cannot depend on the fact, for it comes from Boece.—Hailes, vol. i. p. 307.

§ Quhen Alysandyr, oure kyng, wes dede,
That Scotland led in luwe ¶ and le, ¶
Away wes sons of ale and brede,
Of wyne and wax, of gamyn and gle.
Oure gold wes changyd into lede.—
Christ, born in-to virgynyte,
Succour Scotland, and remede,
That stad ** is in perplexytè.

Winton, vol. i. p. 401.

¶ Love.

¶ Le, tranquillity.

** Placed, or situated.

MARGARET, THE MAIDEN OF NORWAY.

MARGARET, the grand-daughter of Alexander, and grand-niece to Edward the First, who had been recognised as heir to the crown in 1284, was in Norway at the time of the king's death. A parliament, therefore, assembled at Scone on the 11th of April, 1286; and a regency, consisting of six guardians of the realm, was, by common consent, appointed.* The administration of the northern division of Scotland, beyond the Firth of Forth, was intrusted to Fraser bishop of St Andrews, Duncan earl of Fife, and Alexander earl of Buchan. The government of the country to the south of the Forth was committed to Wishart the Bishop of Glasgow, John Comyn lord of Badenoch, and James the High Steward of Scotland.†

In this Parliament, a keen debate on the succession to the crown arose between the partisans of Bruce and Baliol. Nor were these the only claimants. Nothing but the precarious life of an infant now stood between the crown of Scotland and the pretensions of other powerful competitors, whose relationship to the royal family, as it raised their hopes, encouraged them to collect their strength, and gave a legal sanction to their ambition. Edward the First of England, whose near connexion with the young Queen of Scotland and the heretrix of Norway made him her natural protector, was at this time in France. On being informed of the state of confusion into which the death of Alexander was likely to plunge a kingdom which had been for

* Winton, vol. ii. p. 10. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 138.

† Fordun a Hearne, p. 951.

some time the object of his ambition, the project of a marriage between the young queen and his son the Prince of Wales was too apparent not to suggest itself. But this monarch, always as cautious of too suddenly unveiling his purposes as he was determined in pursuing them, did not immediately declare his wishes. He contented himself with observing the turn which matters should take in Scotland, certain that his power and influence would in the end induce the different parties to appeal to him ; and confident that the longer time which he gave to these factions to quarrel among themselves and embroil the country, the more advantageously would this interference take place. The youth of the King of Norway, father to the young Princess of Scotland, was another favourable circumstance for Edward. Eric was only eighteen. He naturally looked to Edward, the uncle of his late wife, for advice and support ; and, fearful of trusting his infant and only daughter, scarce three years old, to the doubtful allegiance of so fierce and ambitious a nobility as that of Scotland, he determined to keep her for the present under his own eye in Norway.

Meanwhile a strong party was formed against her, amongst the most powerful of the Scottish barons. They met (Sept. 20, 1286) at Turnberry, the castle of Robert Bruce earl of Carrick, son of Robert Bruce lord of Annandale and Cleveland. Here they were joined by two powerful English barons, Thomas de Clare, brother of Gilbert earl of Gloucester, and Richard de Burgh earl of Ulster.* Thomas de Clare was nephew to Bruce's wife, and both he and his brother the Earl of Gloucester were naturally anxious to support Bruce's title to the crown, as the descendant of

* *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 488.

David earl of Huntingdon, brother of King William the Lion.* Nor was the scheme in any respect a desperate one, for Bruce already had great influence. There assembled at Turnberry, Patrick earl of Dunbar, with his three sons; Walter Stewart earl of Menteith; Bruce's own son the Earl of Carrick, and Bernard Bruce; James, the High Steward of Scotland,† with John his brother; Angus son of Donald the Lord of the Isles, and Alexander his son. These barons, whose influence could bring into the field the strength of almost the whole of the west and south of Scotland, now entered into a bond, or covenant, by which it was declared, that they would thenceforth adhere to and take part with one another, on all occasions, and against all persons, saving their allegiance to the King of England, and also their allegiance to him who should gain the kingdom of Scotland by right of descent from King Alexander, then lately deceased.‡ Not long after this, the number of the Scottish regents was reduced to four, by the assassination of Duncan earl of Fife, and the death of the Earl of Buchan; the Steward, another of the regents, pursuing an interest at variance with the title of the young queen, joined the party of Bruce, heart-burnings and jealousies arose between the nobility and the governors of the kingdom. These soon increased, and at length broke into an open war between the parties of Bruce and Baliol,

* Gough, in his *Additions to Camden's Britannia*, vol. i. p. 265, mentions, that Gilbert earl of Gloucester, brother of Robert de Bruce's wife, having incurred the resentment of Edward the First, was dispossessed of all his lands; but the king afterwards restored him, and gave him his daughter in marriage. The convention at Turnberry was perhaps the cause of Edward's resentment.

† James, the High Steward, married Cecilia, daughter of Patrick earl of Dunbar. Andrew Stewart's *Hist. of the Stuarts*, p. 16.

‡ The original is alluded to by Dugdale, vol. i. p. 216. See also *Rot. Compt. Temp. Custodum Regni*, p. 62.

which for two years after the death of the king continued its ravages in the country.*

The event which the sagacity of Edward had anticipated, now occurred. The States of Scotland were alarmed at the continuance of civil commotions; and, in a foolish imitation of other foreign powers who had applied to Edward to act as a peacemaker, sent the Bishop of Brechin, the Abbot of Jedburgh, and Geoffrey de Mowbray, as ambassadors to the King of England, requesting his advice and mediation towards composing the troubles of the kingdom.† At the same time, Eric king of Norway despatched plenipotentiaries to treat with Edward regarding the affairs of his daughter the queen, and her kingdom of Scotland. The king readily accepted both offers; and finding his presence no longer necessary in France, returned to England, to superintend in person those measures of intrigue and ambition which now entirely occupied his mind. "Now," said he, to the most confidential of his ministers, "the time is at last arrived when Scotland and its petty kings shall be reduced under my power."‡ But although his intentions were declared thus openly in his private council, he proceeded cautiously and covertly in the execution of his design. At his request, the Scottish regents appointed the Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, assisted by Robert Bruce lord of Annandale, and John Comyn, to treat in the presence of the King of England regarding certain matters proposed by the

* This war, hitherto unknown to our historians, is proved by documents of unquestionable authority. *Excerpta e Rotulo Compotorum. Tempore Custodum Regni*, pp. 56, 62.

† Fordun a Goodal, pp. 137, 138, vol. ii. places this embassy in 1286. It probably occurred later. Eric's letter to Edward, is dated April 1289. Rymer, vol. ii. p. 416.

‡ Fordun a Goodal, book xi. chap. iii. p. 139.

Norwegian commissioners, and empowered them to ratify whatever was there agreed on, "saving always the liberty and honour of Scotland;" and provided that from such measures nothing should be likely to occur prejudicial to that kingdom and its subjects.* To this important conference the king, on the part of England, sent the Bishops of Worcester and Durham, with the Earls of Pembroke and Warrene.

The place appointed was Salisbury; but previous to the meeting of the plenipotentiaries, Edward had secretly procured a dispensation from the pope for the marriage of his son, the Prince of Wales, to the young Princess of Norway, as the youthful pair were within the forbidden degrees.† No hint, however, of this projected union, was yet suffered to transpire; and the commissioners met at Salisbury, where a treaty was drawn up, in which no direct allusion was made to the marriage, although it included provisions which evidently bore upon this projected union.

It was there stipulated by the commissioners for Norway, that the young queen should be sent into the kingdom of Scotland or England, untrammelled by any matrimonial engagement, before the feast of All Saints in the next year; and that on this first condition being fulfilled, the King of England should send her into Scotland, also free from all matrimonial engagements, as soon as he was assured that this kingdom was in such a state of tranquillity as to afford her a quiet residence. This wide and convenient clause evidently gave Edward the power of detaining the heretrix of the crown for an almost indefinite period in England; and its being inserted in this

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 431. Date, Oct. 3, 1289.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 450.

treaty, proves, that although Bruce, by accepting the office of commissioner, appeared to have abandoned his son's claim to the crown, Edward was suspicious that the interest which looked to a male successor to the crown was still pretty high in Scotland. By the third article, the States of Scotland undertook, before receiving their queen, to find security to the King of England, that she should not marry without his counsel and consent, and that of the King of Norway. The Scottish commissioners next engaged for themselves, that the quiet of the kingdom of Scotland should be established before the arrival of the queen, so that she might enter her dominions with safety, and continue therein at her pleasure. With regard to the removal of guardians, or public officers in Scotland, it was determined, that should any of these be suspected persons, or troublesome to the King of Norway or the Queen of Scotland, they should be removed, and better persons appointed in their place, by the advice of the "*good men*" of Scotland and Norway, and of persons selected for this purpose by the King of England; and it was stipulated that these English commissioners were ultimately to decide all disputes regarding public measures, which might occur between the ministers of Scotland and Norway, as well as all differences arising amongst the Scottish ministers themselves. It was finally agreed, that in the middle of the ensuing Lent, there should be a meeting of the Estates of Scotland at Roxburgh; by which time the Scottish plenipotentiaries engaged, that every thing to which they had now consented should be fulfilled and ratified in the presence of the commissioners of England.* Of this convention three copies were made:

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. pp. 446, 447.

one in Latin, which was transmitted to the King of Norway; and two in French, retained for the use of the Scots and English. At this period, the majority of the nobility of both countries were of Norman-French extraction, and Norman-French was alike in England and Scotland the language in which state affairs were generally conducted.

By this treaty, which gave so much power to Edward, and left so little to the Estates of Scotland, it is evident that some of the Scottish commissioners were in the interest of the English king. Bruce, Lord of Annandale, had either altered his ambitious views, or he trusted that a temporary concealment of them, and the dissatisfaction which such a convention must occasion in Scotland, might ultimately turn to his advantage. Edward, in the meantime, neglected nothing which could secure or increase the power which he had acquired. He addressed a letter to the Estates of Scotland, requiring them to be obedient to their regents, and informing them, that he meant to send into that country some of the members of his council, from whom he might receive correct information of its condition.* Although a dispensation from the pope was already obtained, no allusion to the intended marriage between Prince Edward and the young queen had been made throughout the whole treaty: Edward, with his usual calm foresight, seems privately to have directed the Scottish commissioners at Salisbury, three of whom were regents, to sound the nobility of Scotland on their return, and discover the feelings of the people regarding the projected union.

Accordingly, as soon as the important project became

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 445.

generally known, a meeting of the Estates of Scotland assembled at Brigham, a village on the Tweed, near Roxburgh, and from thence directed a letter to Edward, which was signed by the dignified clergy, and by all the earls and barons, of the realm. It stated, that they were overjoyed to hear the good news which were now commonly spoken of,—“that the Apostle had granted a dispensation for the marriage of Margaret, their dear lady and their queen, with Prince Edward.” It requested King Edward to send them early intelligence regarding this important measure; and assured him of their full and ready concurrence, provided certain reasonable conditions were agreed to, which should be specified by delegates, who would wait upon him at his parliament, to be held next Easter at London.*

A letter† was at the same time despatched by this

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 471.

† This important letter is in Norman-French, and as follows:—

“A tres noble Prince, Sire Eyrik, par la grace de Deu, Roy de Norway, Guillam e Robert, par meme cele grace, de Saint Andreu e de Glasgu Eveskes, Johan Comyn, & James Seneschal de Escoce, Gardains de Reaume de Escoce, e tote la commune de meyme cele Reaume, salut & totes honurs.

“Come nus feumes certayns ke vous seez desirous del honur, & del profist de nostre Dame, vostre fille, & de tute le Reaume de Escoce, par encheson de ly: e le Apostoylle ad grante, & fete dispensacion, solom coe ke communement est parle en diverses partys de Mound, ke le Fitz & le Heyr le Roy de Engleterre pusse nostre dame, vostre fille, en femme prendre, nin ostaunt procheynette de Saunk.

“Nus, par commun assent de tut le Reaume de Escoce, e pur le grant profist del un & del autre Reaume, ke le mariage se face, si issint seit, avuns uniement accorde, e communement assentu.

“Pur la queu chose nus priums & requerums vostre hautesse, ke il vous pleyse issint ordiner, e ceste bosoyne adrescer endroit de vous; ke meyme cele voustre fille Dame puyse en Engleterre venir a plus tous ke estre purra;

“Issint ke, a plus tart, seit en meme la terre avaunt la tut Seynt procheyn avenir, si com, de sa venue, est acorde, devaunt le vaunt dyt Roys de Engleterre, entre nous & voz messages, ke iloeques vyndrunt de par vus.

“Et taunt en facet, Sire, si vous plect, ke nous vous saums le plus tenu a tou Jurs; ke, si il avenoyt ke vous ceste chose ne feisset, il nus coven-droit, en ceste chose, prendre le meillour conseil ke Deus nus dorra pur le estat du Reaume, & la bone gent de la terre.

“En temonage de les avauntдите choses nus, Gardeyns du Reaume, & la

assembly of the States to Eric king of Norway, which informed him of their consent to the marriage; and requested him to fulfil the terms of the treaty of Salisbury, by sending over the young queen, at the latest before the Feast of All Saints; and intimating to him, that if this were not done, they should be obliged to follow the best council which God might give them, for the good of the kingdom. The nobility of Scotland could not be more anxious than Edward for the arrival of the intended bride; but the king employed a more effectual way than entreaty, by despatching to Norway one of his ablest counsellors, Anthony Beck bishop of Durham, who, under the plausible name of pensions, distributed money among the Norwegian ministers, and obtained a promise, that she should immediately be sent to England.* So assured of this was Edward, that, on the arrival of the Scottish envoys to his parliament held in Easter, he came under an engagement to pay 3000 marks to Scotland if Margaret did not reach England, or her own country, before the Feast of All Saints. He next appointed the Bishop of Durham, and five other plenipotentiaries, to attend a meeting of the Scottish Estates, which was held at Brigham (July 1290,) intrusting them with full powers to conclude that treaty, on the basis of which the marriage was to take place, and, after due conference, to concur in those securities which the Scottish Estates demanded for the preservation of the independence of their country.

commune avantdyt, en nom de nus le Seal commun, que nus usom en Escoce, en nom de nostre Dame avaundyt, avum fet mettre a ceste lettre.

“Done a Brigham, le Vendredy procheyn a pres la Feste Seynt Gregorie, le An de nostre Seygnur 1289.” Rymer, vol. ii. p. 472.

See Illustrations, Letter E.

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 479.

The principal articles of this treaty of Brigham are of much importance, as illustrating the justice and the inveteracy of that long war, which afterwards desolated the kingdoms. It was agreed by the English plenipotentiaries, that the rights, laws, liberties, and customs of Scotland were to be inviolably observed in all time coming, throughout the whole kingdom and its marches, saving always the rights which the King of England, or any other person, has possessed, before the date of this treaty, in the marches or elsewhere; or which may accrue to him in all time coming. It was stipulated also, that failing Margaret and Edward, or either of them, without issue, the kingdom should belong to the nearest heirs, to whom it ought of right to return, wholly, freely, absolutely, and without any subjection; so that nothing shall either be added to, or taken from, the rights of the King of England, of his heirs, or of any other person whatever. The queen, if she should survive her husband, was to be given up to the Scottish nation, free from all matrimonial engagement; and, on the marriage, to be secured in a jointure befitting her rank. The kingdom of Scotland was for ever to remain separate and undivided from England, free in itself, and without subjection, according to its ancient boundaries and marches. With regard to the ecclesiastical privileges of the country, it was provided that the chapters of churches, which possessed the right of free election, were not to be compelled to travel forth of Scotland for leave to elect, or for the presentation of the bishop or dignitary, or for the performance of fealty to the sovereign. No crown-vassal, widow, orphan, or ward of the crown, was to be under the necessity of performing their homage or relief out of the kingdom, but a person was to be appointed in Scotland to

receive the same, by the authority of the queen and her husband. From this clause was reserved the homage which ought to be performed in the presence of the king, and fealty having been once sworn, *sasine*, or legal possession of the land, was immediately to be given by a brief from Chancery.

It was anxiously and wisely provided, that no native of Scotland was, in any case whatever, to be compelled to answer out of the kingdom regarding any civil covenant or criminal delinquency which had taken place in Scotland, as such compulsion was contrary to the ancient laws and usages of the realm; and that no parliament was to be held without the boundaries of the kingdom, as to any matters affecting the condition of its subjects. Until the arrival of the queen, the great seal of Scotland was to be used in all matters relating to God, the church, and the nation, as it had been used during the life and after the death of the late king; and on the queen's arrival in her dominions, a new seal, with the ancient arms of Scotland alone, and the single name of the queen engraven thereon, was to be made, and kept by the chancellor; it being also provided, that the chancellors, justiciars, chamberlains, clerks of the rolls, and other officers of the realm, were to be natives of Scotland, and resident there.

All charters, grants, relics, and other muniments, touching the royal dignity of the kingdom of Scotland, were to be deposited in a safe place within that kingdom, and to be kept in sure custody under the seals of the nobility, and subject to their inspection until the queen should arrive, and have living issue; and before this event took place, no alienation, encumbrance, or obligation, was to be created in any matters

touching the royal dignity of the kingdom of Scotland; and no tallage, aids, levies of men, or extraordinary exactions to be demanded from Scotland, or imposed upon its inhabitants, except for the common affairs of the realm, or in the cases where the kings of Scotland have been wont to demand the same. It was proposed by the Scots that the castles and fortresses should not be fortified anew upon the marches; but the English commissioners, pleading the defect of their instructions, cautiously waved the discussion of this point.

To all the articles in the treaty, the guardians and community of Scotland gave their full consent, under the condition that they should be ratified within a certain time.* If not so confirmed, they were to be esteemed void; but Edward was too well satisfied with the terms of the negotiation to postpone this condition, and accordingly, without delay, pronounced the oath which was required. His next was one of those bold and unwarrantable steps, which frequently marked the conduct of this ambitious and able monarch. He pretended that, without the presence of an English governor, he could not fulfil the terms of his oath to maintain the laws of Scotland; and although no such authority was given him by the treaty, he appointed Anthony Beck bishop of Durham, to the office of Governor of Scotland, in the name of Margaret the queen, and his son Edward, and for the purpose of acting in concert with the regents, prelates, and nobles, in the administration of that kingdom, according to its ancient laws and usages.† Edward had already gained to his interest two of the Scottish regents; by

* Before the Feast of the Virgin's Nativity.

† Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 487, 488.

this measure he trusted that he could overrule their deliberations; and, grown confident in his power, he intimated to the Estates, "that certain rumours of danger and perils to the kingdom of Scotland having reached his ears, he judged it right that all castles and places of strength in that kingdom should be delivered up to him."*

This demand effectually roused the Scots; and Sir William Sinclair, Sir Patrick Graham, and Sir John Soulis,† with the other captains of the Scottish castles, peremptorily refused, in the name of the community of Scotland, to deliver its fortresses to any one but their queen and her intended husband, for whose behoof they were ready to bind themselves by oath to keep and defend them. With this firm reply Edward was obliged to be satisfied; and, sensible that he had overrated his influence, he patiently awaited the arrival of the young queen.

It was now certain that she had sailed; the guardians of the realm, accompanied by commissioners from England, were preparing to receive her; and all eyes, in both countries, were turned towards the sea, anxious to welcome the child on whom so many fair hopes depended, when accounts were brought that she had been seized with a mortal disease on her passage, and had died at Orkney. She was only in her eighth year. This fatal event, which may justly be called a great national calamity, happened in September 1290, and its first announcement struck sorrow and despair into the heart of the kingdom. In 1284, the crown had been solemnly settled on the descendants of

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 488.

† These three knights had been high in the confidence of Alexander the Third. Fordun a Hearne, p. 785.

Alexander the Third; but the parliament and the nation, confident in the vigorous manhood of the king, and the health of his progeny, had looked no farther. All was now overcast. The descendants of Alexander were extinct; and Bruce and Baliol, with other noble earls or barons who claimed kindred with the blood-royal, began, some secretly, some more boldly, to form their schemes of ambition, and gather strength to assert them.

Previous to the report of the queen's death, a convention of the Scottish Estates had been held at Perth to receive Edward's answer to the refusal of delivering their castles. To this meeting of the Estates, Robert Bruce lord of Annandale refused to come; and a great part of the nobility made no concealment of their disgust at the arrogant and unprecedented demands of the English king.* When the sad news was no longer doubtful, the miseries attendant on a contested throne soon began to show themselves. Bruce assembled a large force, and suddenly came to Perth. Many of the nobility declared themselves of his party, and the Earls of Mar and Athole joined him with all their followers. If the nation and its governors had been true to themselves, all might yet have gone well; but the money and power of England had introduced other councils. One of the guardians, William Fraser bishop of St Andrews, who had embraced the interests of Baliol, addressed a letter to Edward upon the first rumour of the queen's death, informing him of the troubled state of the country, and the necessity of his interposition to prevent the nation from being involved in blood. "Should John de Baliol," says he, "present himself before you, my

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 1090.

counsel is, that you confer with him, so that, at all events, your honour and interest may be preserved. Should the queen be dead, which heaven forefend, I entreat that your highness may approach our borders, to give consolation to the people of Scotland, to prevent the effusion of blood, and to enable the faithful men of the realm to preserve their oath inviolable, by choosing him for their king who by right ought to be so.”*

Edward's mind was not slow to take full advantage of this unwise application;† and the death of the young queen, the divisions amongst the Scottish nobility, and the divided state of the national mind as to the succession, presented a union of circumstances, too favourable for his ambition to resist. The treaty of Brigham, although apparently well calculated to secure the independence of Scotland, contained a clause which was evidently intended to leave room for the pretended claim of the feudal superiority of England over this country; and even before the death of the Maid of Norway, Edward, in writs which he took care should be addressed only to persons in his own interest, had assumed the title of lord superior of the kingdom of Scotland.‡ Fully aware of the favourable conjuncture in which he was placed, and with that union of sagacity, boldness, and unscrupulous ambition which characterized his mind, he at once formed his plan, and determined, in his pretended character of lord superior, to claim the office of supreme judge in deciding the competition for the crown. His inter-

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 1090.

† I have here availed myself of the criticisms of an acute writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, to modify my former censure of this prelate.—“*Edinburgh Review*,” No. 133. Palgrave's “*Illustrations of Scottish History*.”

‡ Prynne, *Ed. I.* p. 430–450.

ference, indeed, had already been solicited by the Bishop of St Andrews ; there is reason also to suspect, from some mutilated and undated documents recently discovered, that Bruce and his adherents had not only claimed his protection at this moment, but secretly offered to acknowledge his right of superiority ;* but there is no authority for believing, that any national proposal was, at this time, made by the Scottish Parliament, requesting his decision as arbiter, in a question upon which they only were entitled to pronounce judgment. The motives of Edward's conduct, and the true history of his interference, are broadly and honestly stated, in these words of an old English historian : "The King of England, having assembled his privy council and chief nobility, told them, that he had it in his mind to bring under his dominion the king and the realm of Scotland, in the same manner that he had subdued the kingdom of Wales."†

For this purpose, he deemed it necessary to collect his army, and issued writs to his barons and military tenants, commanding them to meet at Norham on the 3d June, 1291.‡ The sheriffs of the counties of York, Lancaster, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland, were also directed to summon all within their jurisdiction who owed the king service, to repair to the

* I say "suspect," because I cannot agree with the discoverer of these muniments, Sir Francis Palgrave, or with his reviewer, that the appeal of Bruce and the Earl of Mar to Edward, amounts to an absolute acknowledgment of his right as lord superior. As to Sir Francis Palgrave's fanciful theory, that there existed in the ancient kingdom of Scotland a constitutional body called, "The Seven Earls," possessing high privileges as a distinct estate,—it is certainly singular that, if such a body did exist, there should not be found the slightest traces of its acts, or its appearance, from the dawn to the close of Scottish history.—See on this point the critique on Palgrave's "Illustrations of Scottish History," in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 133.

† *Annales Waverleenses*, p. 242. *Script. Brit. a Gale*, vol. ii.

‡ *Rymer*, vol. ii. p. 525.

rendezvous with their full powers; and, in the meantime, Edward requested the clergy and nobility of Scotland to hold a conference with him at Norham on the 10th of May, to which they consented.

The English king opened the deliberations in a speech delivered by his Justiciary, Roger Brabazon, in which, after an introductory eulogium upon the godlike and regal attribute of justice, and the blessings attendant on the preservation of tranquillity, he observed, that the sight of the great disturbances, which on the death of Alexander the Third had arisen in the kingdom of Scotland, was highly displeasing to him; on this account, and for the purpose of satisfying those who had claims upon the crown, and for the confirmation of peace in the land, he had requested its nobility to meet him, and had himself travelled from remote parts, that he might do justice to all, in his character of Lord Paramount, and without encroaching upon the rights of any man. "Wherefore," concluded the Justiciary, "our lord the king, for the due accomplishment of this design, doth require your hearty recognition of his title of Lord Paramount of the kingdom of Scotland."*

This unexpected demand struck dismay and embarrassment into the hearts of the Scottish assembly. They declared their entire ignorance that such a right of superiority belonged to the King of England; and added, that at the present conjuncture, when the country was without its king, in whose presence such a challenge ought to be made, they could give no answer.† "By Holy Edward!" cried the King of England, "whose crown I wear, I will either have my rights recognised, or die in the vindication of them!"

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 33.

† Walsingham, p. 56.

“And to make this speech good,” says Hemingford, “he had issued writs for the convocation of his army; so that, in case of his demand being resisted, he might conquer all opposition, were it to the death.”*

The representatives of the Estates of Scotland, who were well aware of this, now found themselves placed in trying circumstances, and requested time to consult and deliberate with their absent members. Edward at first would give them only one day; but on their insisting that a longer interval was absolutely necessary, the king granted them three weeks, to prepare all that they could allege against his pretensions. This delay the king well knew would be productive of some good consequences towards his great scheme, and, at any rate, could not possibly injure his ambitious views. Before these three weeks elapsed, his army would meet him at Norham. He had already ensured the services of Fraser the regent;† and the money and promises which he judiciously distributed, had induced no less than ten competitors to come forward and claim the Scottish crown. In this way, by the brilliant prize which he held out to the most powerful of the nobility of Scotland, he placed their private ambition and their public virtue in fatal opposition to each other. All hoped that if they resigned to Edward this right of superiority, they might receive a kingdom in return; and all felt, that to rise up as the defenders of the independency of a country, which was then torn by mutual distrust and civil disorder; which was without a king, without an army, and with the most powerful of its nobility leagued against it, would be a

* Hemingford, p. 33.

† On August 13, 1291, Edward made a pilgrimage from Berwick to St Andrews, probably to consult with the bishop.

desperate undertaking against so able a general, so profound a politician, and so implacable an enemy, as Edward. I do not say this to palliate the disgraceful scene which followed, nor to insinuate that any circumstances can occur which entitle the subject of a free country to sacrifice its independence; but to prove that the transaction, which was truly a deep stain upon our history, was the act not of the Scottish nation, or of the assembled states of the nation, but of a corrupted part of the Scottish nobility.

To return to the story. On the 2d of June, eight of the competitors for the crown assembled, along with many of the prelates, nobles, and barons of Scotland, on a green plain called Holywell Haugh, opposite to Norham Castle. These competitors were,—Robert Bruce, Florence earl of Holland, John Hastings, Patrick Dunbar earl of March, William de Ross, William de Vesey, Walter Huntercombe, Robert de Pynkeny, and Nicholis de Soulis. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, then Chancellor of England, spoke for the king. He told them, that his master having on a former occasion granted them three weeks to prepare their objections to his claim of superiority, and they having brought forward no answer to invalidate his right, it was the intention of the King of England, in virtue of this acknowledged right, to examine and determine the dispute regarding the succession. The chancellor then turned to Robert Bruce, and demanded whether he was content to acknowledge Edward as Lord Paramount of Scotland, and willing to receive judgment from him in that character; upon which this baron expressly answered, that he recognised him as such, and would abide by his decision. The same question was then put to the other competitors, all of

whom returned the same answer. Sir Thomas Randolph then stood up, and declared that John Baliol lord of Galloway, had mistaken the day, but would appear on the morrow; which he did, and then solemnly acknowledged the superiority of the English king. At this fourth assembly, the chancellor protested in the name of the king, that although with the view of giving judgment to the competitors, he now asserted his right of superiority, yet he had no intention of excluding his hereditary right of property in the kingdom of Scotland, but reserved to himself the power of prosecuting such right at whatever time, and in whatever way, he judged expedient.*

The king in person next addressed the assembly. He spoke in Norman-French; recapitulated the proceedings; and, with many professions of affection for the people of Scotland, declared his intention not only to pronounce a speedy decision in the controversy, but to maintain the laws and re-establish the tranquillity of the country. John Comyn lord of Badenoch, called the Black Comyn, who had married a sister of Baliol, now came forward as a competitor for the crown, and acknowledged the superiority of Edward; after which, the claimants affixed their signatures to two important instruments. The first declared, that, "Forasmuch as the King of England has evidently shown to us that the sovereign seignory of Scotland, and the right of hearing, trying, and terminating our respective claims, belongs to him—we agree to receive judgment from him, as our Lord Paramount. We are willing to abide by his decision; and consent that he shall possess the kingdom to whom he awards it."†

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 551.

† Hemmingford, vol. i. p. 34. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 529.

By the second deed, possession of the whole land and castles of Scotland was delivered into the hands of Edward, under the pretence, that the subject in dispute ought always to be placed in the hands of the judge; but on condition that Edward should find security to make a full restitution within two months after the date of his award, and that the revenues of the kingdom should be preserved for the future sovereign. It was next determined, after grave consultation with the prelates and earls, that, in order to prepare the point in dispute for an ultimate decision, Baliol and Comyn for themselves, and the competitors who approved of their list, should choose forty "discreet and faithful men" as commissioners; that Bruce, for himself, and the competitors who abided by his nomination, should choose other forty; and that Edward, the king, should select twenty-four commissioners, or, as he thought fit, a greater or lesser number. These commissioners were to meet in a body, to consider the claims of the competitors, and to make their report to the king.

On the 11th of June, the four regents of Scotland delivered the kingdom into the hands of Edward; and the captains and governors of its castles, finding that the guardians of the realm, and the most powerful of its nobility, had abandoned it to its fate, gave up its fortresses to his disposal. And here, in the midst of this scene of national humiliation, one Scottish baron stood forward, and behaved worthy of his country. The Earl of Angus, Gilbert de Umfraville, who commanded the important castles of Dundee and Forfar, declared, that having received these, not from England, but from the Estates of Scotland, he would not surrender them to Edward. A formal letter of indemnity

was then drawn up, which guaranteed the Earl of Angus from all blame; and, in name of the claimants of the crown, and of the guardians of the realm, enjoined him to deliver the fortresses of which he held the keys. This removed the objection of Umfraville, and Dundee and Forfar were placed in the hands of Edward. The King of England, satisfied with this express acknowledgment of his rights as Lord Paramount, immediately redelivered the custody of the kingdom into the hands of the regents, enjoining them to appoint Alan bishop of Caithness, an Englishman, and one of his dependants, to the important office of chancellor; and to nominate Walter Agmondesham, another agent of England, as his assistant. To the four guardians, or regents, Edward next added a fifth, Bryan Fitz-Alan, an English baron; and having thus secured an effectual influence over the Scottish councils, he proceeded to assume a generous and conciliating tone. He promised to do justice to the competitors within the kingdom of Scotland,* and to deliver immediate possession of the kingdom to the successful claimant; upon the death of any king of Scotland who left an heir, he engaged to wave his claim to those feudal services, which, upon such an occasion, were rigidly exacted by lords superior in smaller fiefs, with the exception of the homage due to him as Lord Paramount; but he stipulated, that, in the event of a disputed succession occurring, the kingdom and its castles were to be again delivered into his hands.†

The first act of this extraordinary drama now drew to a conclusion. The great seal, which had been brought from Scotland for the occasion, was delivered

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 532.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 601.

to the joint chancellors, the Bishop of Caithness and Walter Agmondesham. The four guardians, in the presence of a large concourse of English and Scottish nobility, swore fealty to Edward as lord superior; while Bruce lord of Annandale, with his son the Earl of Carrick, John de Baliol, the Earls of March, Mar, Buchan, Athole, Angus, Lennox, and Menteith, the Black Comyn lord of Badenoch, and many other barons and knights, followed them in taking the oaths of homage. A herald then proclaimed the peace of King Edward as Lord Paramount; and the monarch added a protestation, that his consent to do justice in this great cause within Scotland, should not preclude him from his right of deciding in any similar emergency within his kingdom of England. The assembly then broke up, after an agreement that its next meeting should be at Berwick on the 2d of August, on which day the King of England promised to deliver his final judgment upon the succession to the crown of Scotland.*

It was now only the 13th of July, and Edward determined to employ the interval till the 2d of August in a progress through Scotland, for the purpose of receiving the homage of its inhabitants, and examining in person the disposition of the people, and the strength of the country. He proceeded, by Edinburgh and Stirling, as far as Perth, visiting Dunfermline, St Andrews, Kinghorn, and Linlithgow; and at these places peremptorily called upon persons of all ranks, earls, barons, and burgesses, to sign the rolls of homage, as vassals of the King of England.† In the more remote districts, which he could not visit, officers were appointed to receive the oaths, and enforce them by

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 558.

† Prynne, Edw. I. p. 509-512.

imprisonment upon the refractory;* and having thus examined and felt the temper of the country, which he had determined to reduce under his dominion, he returned to Berwick; where, in the presence of the competitors, with the prelates, earls, and barons of both countries, assembled in the chapel of the castle, he, on the 3d of August, opened the proceedings.

First of all, he commanded the hundred and four commissioners or delegates, to assemble in the church of the Dominicans, adjoining to the castle, and there receive the claims to the crown. Upon this, twelve competitors came forward. These were—

I. Florence count of Holland, descended from Ada, the sister of King William the Lion.

II. Patrick Dunbar earl of March, descended from Ilda, or Ada, daughter of William the Lion.

III. William de Vescy, who claimed as grandson of Marjory, daughter of William the Lion.†

IV. William de Ross, descended from Isabella, daughter of William the Lion.

V. Robert de Pynkeny, descended from Marjory, daughter of Henry prince of Scotland, and sister of William the Lion.

VI. Nicholas de Soulis, descended from Marjory, a daughter of Alexander the Second, and wife of Alan Durward.

VII. Patrick Galythly, claimed as the son of Henry Galythly, who, he contended, was the lawful son of William the Lion.

VIII. Roger de Mandeville, descended from Africa, whom he affirmed to be a daughter of William the Lion

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 573.

† The Chronicle of Melrose, p. 100, ad annum 1193, calls her Margaret.

IX. John Comyn lord of Badenoch, who claimed as a descendant of Donald, formerly King of Scotland.

X. John de Hastings, who was the son of Ada, the third daughter of David earl of Huntingdon, brother to King William the Lion.

XI. Robert de Bruce, who was the son of Isabel, second daughter of David earl of Huntingdon; and lastly,

XII. John de Baliol, who claimed the crown as the grandson of Margaret, the eldest daughter of David earl of Huntingdon.*

The petitions of these various claimants having been read, Edward recommended the commissioners to consider them with attention, and to give in their report at his next parliament, to be held at Berwick on the 2d of June, in the following year. This was an artful delay. Its apparent purpose was to give the commissioners an interval of nine or ten months to institute their inquiries; yet it served the more important object of accustoming the nobility and people of Scotland to look to Edward as their Lord Paramount. When the parliament assembled at Berwick on the appointed day, and when Eric king of Norway appeared by his ambassadors, and insisted on his right to the crown of Scotland as the heir of his daughter Margaret, his petition and the claims of the first nine competitors were easily disposed of. They were liable to insuperable objections: some on account of the notorious illegitimacy of the branches from which they sprung, which was the case with the Earl of March, along with the barons William de Ross and De Vescy; others were rejected because they affirmed that they were descendants of a sister of the Earl of Huntingdon,

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. pp. 578, 579.

when the direct representatives of a brother of the same prince were in the field.

Indeed, before the final judgment was pronounced, these frivolous competitors voluntarily retired. They had been set up by Edward, with the design of removing the powerful opposition which might have arisen to his schemes, had they declared themselves against him ; and to excuse his delay in giving judgment, by throwing an air of intricacy over the case. This object being gained, the king commanded the commissioners to consider, in the first place, the claims of Bruce and Baliol ; thus quietly overlooking the other competitors, whose rights were reserved, never to be again brought forward ; and virtually deciding that the crown must be given to a descendant of David earl of Huntingdon. The scene which followed was nothing more than a premeditated piece of acting, planned by Edward, and not ill performed by the Scottish commissioners, who were completely under his influence. The king first required them to make oath, that they would faithfully advise him by what laws and usages the question should be determined : they answered, that they differed in opinion as to the laws and usages of Scotland, and its application to the question before them ; and therefore required the assistance of the English commissioners, as if from them was to proceed more certain or accurate advice upon the law of Scotland. A conference with the commissioners of the two nations having taken place, it was found that the differences in opinion were not removed. The English commissioners modestly refused to decide until they were enlightened by the advice of an English parliament ; and the king, approving of their scruples, declared his resolution to

consult the learned in foreign parts ; and recommended all persons of both kingdoms to revolve the case in their minds, and consider what ought to be done. He then appointed a parliament to assemble at Berwick on the 15th of October ; at which meeting of the Estates he intimated he would pronounce his final decision.

On the meeting of this parliament at the time appointed, Edward required the commissioners to give an answer to these two questions : 1st, By what laws and customs they ought to regulate their judgment ? or, in the event of there being either no laws for the determination of such a point, or if the laws of England and Scotland happened to be at variance, what was to be done ? And, 2d, Was the kingdom of Scotland to be regarded as a common fief, and the succession to the crown to be regulated by the same principles which were applicable to earldoms and baronies ? The commissioners replied, that the laws and usages of the two kingdoms must rule the question ; but if none existed to regulate the case, the king must make a new law for a new emergency ; and that the succession to the Scottish crown must be decided in the same manner as the succession to earldoms, baronies, and other indivisible inheritances. The king then addressed himself to Bruce and Baliol, and required them to allege any further arguments in explanation of their right ; upon which they entered at great length into their respective pleadings upon the question.

Bruce insisted, that being the son of Isabella, second daughter of David earl of Huntingdon, he was next heir to the crown ; that Alexander the Second had so declared to persons yet alive, when the king despaired of having heirs of his own body ; and that an oath had

been taken by the people of Scotland to maintain the succession of the nearest in blood to Alexander the Third, failing the Maid of Norway and her issue. He maintained, that a succession to a kingdom ought to be decided by the law of nature, rather than by the principles which regulated the succession of vassals and subjects ; by which law, he, as nearest to the royal blood, ought to be preferred ; and that the custom of succession to the Scottish crown—by which the brother, as nearest in degree, excluded the son of the deceased monarch—supported his title. He contended that a woman, being naturally incapable of government, ought not to reign ; and, therefore, as Devorguilla, the mother of Baliol, was alive at the death of Alexander the Third, and could not reign, the kingdom devolved upon him, as the nearest male of the blood-royal.

To all this Baliol replied, that as Alexander the Second had left heirs of his body, no conclusion could be drawn from his declaration ; that the claimants were in the court of the Lord Paramount, of whose ancestors, from time immemorial, the realm of Scotland was held by homage ; and that the King of England must give judgment in this case as in the case of other tenements held of the crown, looking to the law and established usages of his kingdom ; that, upon these principles, the eldest female heir is preferred in the succession to all inheritance, indivisible as well as divisible, so that the issue of a younger sister, although nearer in degree, did not exclude the issue of the elder, though in a degree more remote, the succession continuing in the direct line. He maintained, that the argument of Bruce, as to the ancient laws of succession in the kingdom of Scotland, truly militated against himself ; for the son was nearer in

degree than the brother, yet the brother was preferred. He observed, that Bruce's argument, that a woman ought not to reign, was inconsistent with his own claim; for if Isabella, the mother of Bruce, had no right to reign, she could transmit to him no claim to the crown; and besides all this, he had, by his own deliberate act, confuted the argument which he now maintained, having been one of those nobles who swore allegiance to Margaret, the Maiden of Norway.

The competitors, Bruce and Baliol, having thus advanced their claims, King Edward required of his great council a final answer to the following question, exhorting the bishops, prelates, earls, barons, and commissioners, to advise well upon the point:—"By the laws and customs of both kingdoms, ought the issue of an elder sister, but more remote by one degree, to exclude the issue of the younger sister, although one degree nearer?" To this the whole council unanimously answered, that the issue of the elder sister must be preferred; upon which Edward, after affectingly entreating his council to reconsider the whole cause, adjourned the assembly for three weeks, and appointed it to meet again on Thursday the 6th of November.

On this day, in a full meeting of all the competitors, the commissioners, and the assembled nobility of both countries, the king declared: that, after weighing Bruce's petition, with its circumstances, and deeply considering the arguments on both sides, it was his final judgment, that the pretensions of that noble person to the Scottish crown must be set aside, and that he could take nothing in the competition with Baliol. The great drama, however, was not yet concluded; for the king having ordered the claims of Baliol, and the other competitors which were only

postponed, to be further heard, Bruce declared, that he meant to prosecute his right, and to present a claim for the whole or a part of the kingdom of Scotland, under a different form from what he had already followed. Upon this, John de Hastings, the descendant of the third daughter of David earl of Huntingdon, stood up, and affirmed that the kingdom of Scotland was partible; and ought, according to the established laws of England as to partible fiefs, to be divided equally amongst the descendants of the three daughters. This plea was founded upon an opinion of one of the French lawyers, whom Edward had consulted; and Hastings had no sooner concluded, than Bruce again presented himself, and, adopting the argument of Hastings, claimed a third part of Scotland, reserving always to Baliol, as descended from the eldest sister, the name of king, and the royal dignity. Edward then put the question to his council, "Is the kingdom of Scotland divisible; or, if not, are its escheats or its revenues divisible?" The council answered, "That neither could be divided." Upon which the king, after having taken a few days more to re-examine diligently, with the assistance of his council, the whole of the petitions, appointed the last meeting for the hearing of the cause to be held in the castle of Berwick, on the 17th of November.

On that great and important day, the council and parliament of England, with the nobility of both countries, being met, the various competitors were summoned to attend; upon which Eric king of Norway, Florence earl of Holland, and William de Vesey, withdrew their claims. After this, Patrick earl of March, William de Ross, Robert de Pynkeny, Nicholas de Soulis, and Patrick Galythly, came forward in

person, and followed the same course. John Comyn and Roger de Mandeville, who did not appear, were presumed to have abandoned their right; and the ground being thus cleared for Edward's final judgment, he solemnly decreed: That the kingdom of Scotland being indivisible, and the King of England being bound to judge of the rights of his subjects according to the laws and usages of the people over whom he reigns, by which laws the more remote in degree of the first line of descent is preferable to the nearer in degree of the second; therefore, John Baliol ought to have seisin of the kingdom of Scotland, with reservation always of the right of the King of England and of his heirs, when they shall think proper to assert it. After having delivered judgment, Edward exhorted Baliol to be careful in the government of his people, lest by giving to any one a just cause of complaint, he should call down upon himself an interference of his Lord Paramount. He commanded the five regents to give him seisin of his kingdom, and directed orders to the governors of the castles throughout Scotland, to deliver them into the hands of Baliol.*

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 590. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 11. The forts of Scotland, with their English governors, were these:—

<i>Forts.</i>	<i>Governors.</i>
Stryvelin.....	Norman de Arcy.
Aberdeen	{ John de Gildeford.
Kincairdyn	
Inverness	{ William de Braytoft.
Dingwall	
Invernairn	{ Thomas de Braytoft.
Crumbarthyn	
i. e. Cromarty	
Forres and Elgin.....	Henry de Rye.
Banff and	{ Robert de Grey.
Aboyne	
Forfar	{ Richard de Swethop.
Dundee	
Gedewarth	{ Brian Fitz-Alan.
Rokesburgh	

A humiliating ceremony now took place. The great seal of Scotland, which had been used by the regents since the death of Alexander the Third, was, in the presence of Edward, Baliol, Bruce, and a concourse of the nobility of both kingdoms, broken into four parts, and the pieces deposited in the treasury of the King of England, to be preserved as an evidence of the pretended sovereignty and dominion of that kingdom over Scotland.* Next day Baliol, in the castle of Norham, swore fealty to Edward, who gave a commission to John de St John to perform the ceremony of his coronation, by placing the new monarch upon the ancient stone seat of Scone. This ought to have been done by Duncan earl of Fife, but he was then a minor. Baliol was accordingly crowned upon St Andrew's day, and soon after passed into England, where he concluded the last act of this degrading history, by paying his homage to Edward at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on the day after Christmas.†

<i>Forts.</i>	<i>Governors.</i>
Cluny.....	Hugh de Erth.
Are and Dumbrettan.....	Nicholas de Segrave.
Dumfries	Richard Seward.
Wigton and	
Kirkeudbright }	
Edinburgh.....	Ralph Basset.
Berwick.....	Peter Burder.

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 591. † Fordun a Hearne, p. 967.

CHAP. II.

JOHN BALIOL.

1292—1305.

 CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>King of England.</i>	<i>King of France.</i>	<i>Popes.</i>
Edward I.	Philip IV.	Celestinus V. Boniface VIII.

EDWARD'S scheme for the subjugation of Scotland was not yet completed; but all had hitherto succeeded to his wishes. He had procured the acknowledgment of a claim of superiority over that kingdom, which, if Baliol should refuse to become the creature of his ambition, gave him a specious title to compel obedience as Lord Paramount. By holding out the prospect of a crown to the various competitors, and by many rich grants of estates and salaries to the prelates and the nobility, he had succeeded in securing them to his interest;* and if any feelings of indignation, any spirit

* This appears from the *Rotuli Scotiae*, vol. i. p. 24, *et passim*. He gave the Bishop of Glasgow an obligation to bestow on him lands to the annual value of £100. To James the Steward, lands of the same annual value.

Annual value.

To Patrick, earl of Dunbar,	Lands of £100.
To John de Soulis,	Lands of 100 marks.
To William Sinclair,	Lands of 100 marks.
To Patrick de Graham,	Lands of 100 marks.
To William de Soulis,	Lands of £100, annual value.

All these persons were to have lands of the subjoined value, "*Si contingat Regnum Regi et heredibus suis remanere.*" Edward afterwards changed

of ancient freedom and resistance, remained—the apparent hopelessness of fighting for a country which seemed to have deserted itself, and against a prince of so great a military genius as Edward, effectually stifled it for the present.

Baliol had scarce taken possession of his kingdom when an event occurred which recalled him to a sense of his miserable subjection, and brought out the character of Edward in all its severity. It had been a special provision of the treaty of Brigham, that no Scottish subject was to be compelled to answer in any criminal or civil suit, without the bounds of the kingdom; but, in the face of this, Roger Bartholomew, a citizen of Berwick, entered an appeal to the King of England, from a judgment of those regents whom he had appointed in Scotland during the interregnum. Baliol was not slow to remind Edward of his solemn promise, to observe the laws and usages of Scotland; and he earnestly protested against withdrawing any pleas from that kingdom to the courts of England.* To this Edward replied, that he had in every article religiously observed his promise; but that when complaints were brought against his own ministers, who held their commissions from him as Sovereign Lord of Scotland, it was he alone who could have cognizance of them, nor had his subjects therein any right to interpose. He then, with that air of apparent impartiality which he often threw over his aggressions,

his plan, and gave these barons and prelates gratifications in money, or other value. But to John Comyn, the King of England gave the large sum of £1563 14s. 6½d.—*Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 17, 6th January, 1292. He took care, however, to reimburse himself by keeping the wards, marriages, and other items of the revenue, which had fallen to the Scottish crown during the interregnum, as may be seen from many places in the *Rotuli Scotiæ*.

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 596.

required the opinion of some of the ablest Scottish prelates and judges, with regard to the law and custom of their kingdom in one of the cases brought before him; and commanded his council to decide according to the judgment which they delivered.* Irritated, however, by being reminded of the treaty of Brigham, he openly declared, by his justiciary Brabazon, that although, during the vacancy of the kingdom of Scotland, he had been induced to make promises which suited the time—now when the nation was ruled by a king, he did not intend to be bound by them, to the effect of excluding complaints brought before him from that kingdom, or of preventing him from dispensing justice and exercising the rights of his sovereign dominion, according to his power and pleasure. To give the greater weight to this imperious announcement, the King of England summoned Baliol and his principal prelates and nobles into his privy chamber at Newcastle, and there made Brabazon repeat his resolutions upon the matter in question; after which, Edward himself rose up, and, in the French language, spoke to the same tenor. “These are my firm determinations,” said he, “with regard to all complaints or appeals brought before me from Scotland; nor will I be bound by any former promises or concessions made to the contrary. I am little careful by what deeds or instruments they may be ratified; I shall exercise that superiority and direct dominion which I hold over the kingdom of Scotland, when and where I please; nor will I hesitate, if necessary, to summon the King of Scotland himself into my presence within the kingdom of England.”†

* Ryley's *Placita*, p. 145.

† Rymer, *Fœd.* vol. ii. p. 597. Tyrrel's *England*, vol. iii. p. 74.

Baliol's spirit sunk under this declaration ; and he, and the Scottish nobility then in his train, pusillanimously consented to buy their peace with Edward by a renunciation of all stipulations regarding the laws and liberties of Scotland, which had been made in the treaty of Brigham, and which, so long as they continued in force, convicted the King of England of a flagrant disregard of his oath, formerly so solemnly pledged. On this being agreed to, Edward ordered the public records and ancient historical muniments of the kingdom, which had formerly been transmitted from Edinburgh to Roxburgh, to be delivered to the King of Scotland. He also, out of special favour, commanded possession of the Isle of Man to be given to him ;* and, softened by these concessions, Baliol returned to his kingdom. But it was only to experience fresh mortification, and to feel all the miseries of subjection.

The policy of Edward towards Scotland and its new king, was at once artful and insulting. He treated every assumption of independent sovereignty with rigour and contempt, and lost no opportunity of summoning Baliol to answer before him to the complaints brought against his government ; he encouraged his subjects to offer these complaints by scrupulously administering justice according to the laws and customs of Scotland ; and he distributed lands, pensions, and presents, with well-judged munificence, amongst the prelates and the nobility. The King of Scotland possessed large estates both in England and Normandy ; and in all the rights and privileges connected with them, he found Edward certainly not a severe, almost

* Edward, in 1290, when Margaret was alive, had taken under his protection her kingdom of Man, at the request of its inhabitants.—Rymer, vol. ii, p. 492.

an indulgent, superior. To Baliol the vassal, he was uniformly lenient and just :* to Baliol the king, he was proud and unbending to the last degree. An example of this soon occurred.

The Earl of Fife died, leaving his son, Duncan, a minor, and the earldom to the protection of the Bishop of St Andrews. Macduff, the grand-uncle of Duncan, then seized it ; but being ejected by the bishop, on complaining to Edward, was, at the king's command, restored to his estates by the sentence of the Scottish regents. When Baliol held his first parliament at Scone,† Macduff was summoned to answer for his having taken forcible possession of lands, which, since the death of the last earl of Fife, were in the custody of the king. He attempted a defence ; but being found guilty, suffered a short imprisonment. On his release, he was not slow to carry his appeal to the King of England ; and Edward immediately summoned Baliol to answer in person before him, to the allegations of Macduff.‡ To this order Baliol paid no regard, and Edward again commanded him to appear. This was not all. He procured his parliament to pass some regulations regarding the attendance of the King of Scots, which, from their extreme severity, seem to have been expressly intended to exasperate this monarch, who found that, in every case of appeal, he was not only to be dragged in as a party, but that his personal attendance was to be rigidly exacted. The first was a grievous, the last an intolerable burden, to which no one with even the name of a king could long submit.§

Meanwhile, dissembling his chagrin, he appeared in

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 635.

† Winton, vol. ii. p. 73.

‡ Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 606. Fordun & Hearne, p. 968.

§ Ryley's *Placita*, p. 151. Hailes' *Annals*, vol. i. p. 227.

the English parliament held after Michaelmas, where Macduff was also present. When the cause of this baron noble came on, Baliol was asked what defence he had to offer. "I am," said he, "the King of Scotland. To the complaint of Macduff, or to any matters respecting my kingdom, I dare not make an answer without the advice of my people."—"What means this refusal?" cried Edward. "Are you not my liegeman,—have you not done homage to me,—is it not my summons that brings you here?" To this impetuous interrogation the Scottish monarch firmly answered, "Where the business respects my kingdom, I neither dare, nor can answer, in this place, without the advice of my people."* An artful proposal was then made by Edward, that in order to consult with his people, he should adjourn giving his final reply to a future day; but this he peremptorily declined, declaring that he would neither name a day, nor consent to an adjournment. Under these circumstances, the English parliament proceeded to pronounce judgment. They declared that the King of Scotland was guilty of open contempt and disobedience. He had, they said, offered no defence, but made a reply which went to elude and weaken the jurisdiction of his liege lord, in whose court as a vassal he had claimed the crown of Scotland. In consequence of which they advised the King of England, not only to do full justice to Macduff, and to award damages against Baliol; but, as a punishment for his feudal delinquency, to seize three of his principal castles in Scotland, to remain in the hands of the English monarch until he should make satisfaction for the injury offered to his lord superior.† Before this

* Ryley's *Placita*, p. 158.† Prynne's *Edward I.*, pp. 537, 554.

judgment of the parliament was publicly made known, Baliol presented himself to Edward, and thus addressed him: "My lord, I am your liegeman for the kingdom of Scotland; and I entreat you, that as the matters wherewith you now are occupied concern the people of my kingdom no less than myself, you will delay their consideration until I have consulted with them, lest I be surprised from want of advice; and this the more especially, as those now with me neither will, nor dare, give me their opinion, without consulting with the Estates of the kingdom. After having advised with them, I will, in your first parliament after Easter, report the result, and perform what is my duty."

It was evident that the resolutions of the parliament were unnecessarily violent, and could not have been carried into effect without the presence of an army in Scotland. The King of England, aware of this, and dreading to excite a rebellion, for which he was not then prepared, listened to the demand of Baliol, and delayed all proceedings until the day after the Feast of the Trinity, in 1294.*

Not long after this, Edward, who was a vassal of the King of France for the duchy of Aquitaine, became involved with his lord superior, in a quarrel similar to that between himself and Baliol. A fleet of English vessels belonging to the Cinque Ports, had encountered and plundered some French merchant ships; and Philip demanded immediate and ample satisfaction for the aggression. As he dreaded a war with France, Edward proposed to investigate, by commissioners, the causes of quarrel; but this seemed too slow a process to the irritated feelings of

* Ryley's *Placita*, pp. 152, 160. Prynne's *Edward I.*, p. 554.

the French king; and, exerting his rights as lord superior, he summoned Edward to appear in his court at Paris, and there answer, as his vassal, for the injuries which he had committed. This order was, of course, little heeded; upon which Philip, sitting on his throne, gave sentence against the English king; pronounced him contumacious, and directed his territories in France to be seized, as forfeited to the crown.* Edward soon after renounced his allegiance as a vassal of Philip; and, with the advice of his parliament, declared war against France.

To assist him in this war, he summoned Baliol, and others of the most powerful of the Scottish nobles, to attend him in person with their armed vassals; but his insolent and overbearing conduct had entirely disgusted the Scots. They treated his summons with scorn; and, instead of arming their vassals for his assistance, they assembled a parliament at Scone.† Its first step was, under the pretence of diminishing the public charges, to dismiss all Englishmen from Baliol's court; and having thus got rid of such troublesome spies upon their measures, they engaged in a treaty of alliance with France,‡ and determined upon war with Edward. Many estates in Scotland were at this time held by English barons, and many also of the most powerful of the Scottish nobility possessed lands in England. Anxious for a general union against the common enemy, the Scottish estates in the hands of English barons were forfeited, and their proprietors banished; while those Scottish nobles who remained faithful to Edward had their lands seized and forfeited.§

* Tyrrel's England, vol. iii. p. 79. Prynn's Edward I., pp. 583, 584.

† Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 153. ‡ Rymer, vol. ii. p. 695.

§ Hemingford, p. 83, vol. i. Hailes, vol. i. p. 240.

In this way Robert Bruce lost his rich lordship of Annandale. It was given to John Comyn earl of Buchan, who instantly assumed the rights of a proprietor, and took possession of its castle of Lochmaben—an injury which, in that fierce age, could never be forgotten.

Edward, although enraged at the conduct of the Scottish parliament, and meditating a deep revenge, was at this time harrassed by a rebellion of the Welsh, and a war with France. Dissimulation and policy were the weapons to which he had recourse, whilst he employed the interval which he gained in sowing dissension among the Scottish nobles, and collecting an army for the punishment of their rebellion. To Bruce, the son of the competitor for the crown, whose mind was irritated by the recent forfeiture of his estates, he affected uncommon friendship; regretted his decision in favour of the now rebellious Baliol; declared his determination to place him on the throne, of which the present king had shown himself unworthy; and directed him to inform his numerous and powerful friends in Scotland of this resolution.* Bruce either trusted to the promises, or was intimidated by the power of Edward. Besides this, Comyn earl of Buchan, who now mainly directed the Scottish councils, was his enemy, and held violent possession of his lordship of Annandale. To join with him was impossible; and accordingly this powerful baron and his son, afterwards king, with Dunbar earl of March, and Umfraville earl of Angus, repaired to Edward, and renewed to him their oaths of homage.† The undecided character of Baliol was ill calculated to remove this disunion amongst the Scottish nobles; and the party who then ruled in

* Fordun a Hearne, p. 971.

† Hemingford, vol. i. p. 102.

the Scottish parliament, dreading a submission upon the part of their king, secluded him from all power, confined him in a mountain fortress, and placed the management of affairs in the hands of twelve of the leading nobles.*

The measures adopted by these guardians were decided and spirited. They, in the name of the King of Scots, drew up an instrument, renouncing all fealty and allegiance to Edward, on account of the many and grievous injuries committed upon his rights and property as King of Scotland.† They despatched ambassadors to France, who concluded a treaty of marriage and alliance, by which the niece of Philip, daughter of Charles count of Valois, was to be united to the eldest son of Baliol‡—the French king engaging to assist the Scots with troops kept at his own charges; and they assembled an army under the command of Comyn earl of Buchan, which invaded Cumberland.§ This expedition, however, returned without honour, having been repulsed in an attempt to storm Carlisle.

Nothing could be more favourable for Edward than the miserably disunited state of Scotland. He knew that three powerful factions divided the country, and hindered that firm political union, without which, against such an enemy, no successful opposition could be made. Bruce, and his numerous and powerful followers, adhered to England. The friends of Baliol, and that part of the nation which recognised him for their sovereign, beheld him a captive in one of his own fortresses, and refused to join the rebels who had imprisoned him; and the party of Comyn, which had invaded England, were either so destitute of military

* Math. Westminst. p. 425.

† Fordun & Hearne, p. 969.

‡ Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 696.

§ Hemingford, p. 87. Trivet, p. 238.

talent, or so divided amongst themselves, that a handful of the citizens of Carlisle compelled them to retreat with loss into their own country. These advantages, the result of his own able and artful policy, were easily perceived by the King of England. It was now his time for action, and for inflicting that vengeance upon his enemies, which, with this monarch, the longer it was delayed, was generally the more sure and terrible. He assembled a numerous and well appointed army. It consisted of thirty thousand foot, and four thousand heavy-armed horse. He was joined by Beck, the warlike Bishop of Durham, at the head of a thousand foot and five hundred horse; and with this combined force, and the two sacred banners of St John of Beverley and St Cuthbert of Durham carried before the army,* he marched towards Scotland. It appears, that some time before this, Edward had thought proper to grant a prolongation of the term agreed on for the decision of the question of Macduff, and had required Baliol to attend him as his vassal at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.† On arriving there, he summoned the King of Scotland; and after waiting a few days for his appearance, advanced to the eastern border, and crossed the Tweed with his main army below the Nunnery of Coldstream. On the same day the Bishop of Durham forded the river at Norham, and the whole army, marching along the Scottish side, came before the town of Berwick, then in the hands of the Scots.‡

Edward was determined, at all sacrifices, to make himself master of this city. It was celebrated for the

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 732. Prynne's *Edward I.*, p. 667. Anthony Beck was a prelate, whose state and magnificence were exceeded only by his sovereign. His ordinary personal suite consisted of a hundred and forty knights.—Hutchinson's *History of the County Palatine of Durham*, p. 239.

† Prynne's *Edward I.*, p. 537.

‡ Hemingford, p. 89.

riches and the power of its merchants ; and the extent of its foreign commerce, in the opinion of a contemporary English historian, entitled it to the name of another Alexandria.* It was protected only by a strong dike, but its adjacent castle was of great strength, and its garrison had made themselves obnoxious to the king, by plundering some English merchant ships which had unsuspectingly entered the port. The king summoned it to surrender, and offered it terms of accommodation, which, after two days' consideration, were refused. Edward, upon this, did not immediately proceed to storm, but drew back his army to a field near a nunnery, about a mile from the town, and where, from the nature of the ground, he could more easily conceal his dispositions for the attack. He then despatched a large division, with orders to assault the town choosing a line of march which concealed them from the citizens ; and he commanded his fleet to enter the river at the same moment that the great body of the army, led by himself, were ready to storm.† The Scottish garrison fiercely assaulted the ships, burnt three of them, and compelled the rest to retire ;‡ but they, in their turn, were driven back by the fury of the land attack. Edward himself, mounted on horseback,§ was the first who leaped the dike ; and the soldiers, animated by the example and presence of their king, carried everything before them. All the horrors of a rich and populous city sacked by an inflamed soldiery, and a commander thirsting for ven-

* Torfæus, book i. chap. xxxii. Chron. of Lanercost, a Stevenson, pp. 162, 185.

† Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 159. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 90.

‡ Hemingford, p. 90.

§ Langtoft's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 272. His horse's name, we learn from this Chronicle, was Bayard.

geance, now succeeded. Seventeen thousand persons,* without distinction of age or sex, were put to the sword; and for two days the city ran with blood like a river. The churches, to which the miserable inhabitants had fled for sanctuary, were violated and defiled with blood, spoiled of their sacred ornaments, and turned into stables for the English cavalry.†

In the midst of this massacre a fine trait of fidelity occurred. The Flemings at this period carried on a lucrative and extensive trade with Scotland, and their principal factory was established in Berwick. It was a strong building, called the Red-hall, which, by their charter, they were bound to defend to the last extremity against the English. True to their engagements, thirty of these brave merchants held out the place against the whole English army. Night came, and still it was not taken. Irritated by this obstinate courage, the English set it on fire, and buried its faithful defenders in the burning ruins.‡ The massacre of Berwick, which took place on Good Friday, was a terrible example of the vengeance which Edward was ready to inflict upon his enemies. Its plunder enriched his army, and it never recovered its commercial importance and prosperity. Sir William Douglas, who commanded the castle, after a short defence surrendered, and swore fealty to the King of England; and its garrison, after taking an oath not to bear arms against that country, were allowed to march out with military honours.§

Whilst Edward remained at Berwick, engaged in throwing up new fortifications against future attacks,

* Knighton, apud Twysden, p. 2480. † Fordun, book xi. chap. liv. lv.

‡ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 91. Hailes' Annals, vol. i. p. 236.

§ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 91.

Henry abbot of Arbroath, attended by three of his monks, appeared at his court, and delivered to him the instrument containing Baliol's renunciation of his homage. "You have," said the Scottish king, "wantonly summoned me to your courts; you have committed grievous outrages and robberies upon my subjects, both by sea and land; you have seized my castles and estates in England, killed and imprisoned my subjects, and the merchants of my realm; and when I demanded a redress of these injuries, you have invaded my dominions at the head of a vast army, with the purpose of depriving me of my crown; and have cruelly ravaged the land. Wherefore, I renounce that fealty and homage, which have been extorted from me; and do resolve openly to oppose myself, in defence of my kingdom, against Edward of England."*

Edward received this letter with angry contempt. "The senseless traitor!" said he; "of what folly is he guilty! But since he will not come to us, we will go to him!"†

Enraged at the dreadful vengeance inflicted on Berwick, the Scottish army, under the Earls of Ross, Menteith, and Athole, made a second inroad into England; and, imitating the example of Edward, with merciless severity ravaged Redesdale and Tynedale, carrying away a great booty, and sparing neither sex nor age.‡ The flames of towns and villages, and the ashes of the ancient monasteries of Lanercost and Hexham, marked their destructive progress; but the vengeance of the Scots was short-lived, and their plans unconnected. That of their enemy was the very oppo-

* *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 707. *Fordun a Hearne*, p. 969.

† *Ha ce fol felon, tel folie fet! sil ne voutt venir a nous, nous viendrons a lui.*—*Fordun a Hearne*, p. 969.

‡ *Rymer*, vol. ii. p. 887. *Trivet*, p. 291. *Peter Langtoft*, vol. ii. p. 273.

site : it was deep-laid in its plans, simultaneous in its movements, and remorseless in its contemplation of consequences.

The castle of Dunbar was at this time one of the strongest, and, by its situation, most important in Scotland. Its lord, Patrick earl of Dunbar, served in the army of Edward ; but his wife, the countess, who held the castle, and hated the English, entered into a secret negotiation with the Scottish leaders, for its delivery into the hands of her countrymen. The Earls of Ross, Athole, and Menteith, the barons John Comyn, William St Clair, Richard Seward, and John de Mowbray, with thirty-one knights, and a strong force, threw themselves into the place ; and, assisted by the countess, easily expelled the few soldiers who remained faithful to England.* On being informed of this loss, Edward determined upon recovering it at all hazards ; and for this purpose despatched the Earl of Surrey with ten thousand foot, and a thousand heavy-armed horse. When summoned by Warrene, the garrison agreed to surrender, unless relieved within three days ; and the Scots, anxious to retain so important a place, led on the whole of their army, and possessed themselves of a strong and excellent position on the high ground above Dunbar. Forty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, encamped on the heights, near Spot ; and, confident of rescue, the garrison of the castle insulted the English from the walls, as if already beaten.†

On the first appearance of the Scottish army, Surrey steadily advanced to attack it. On approaching the high ground, it was necessary to deploy through a

* Walsingham, p. 67. This happened on St Martin's day.

† Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 165. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 95.

valley; and the Scots imagined they observed some confusion in the English ranks, when executing this movement. Mistaking this for flight, they precipitately abandoned their strong position on the hills, and rushed down with shouts upon the enemy. Meanwhile, before the lines could meet, the English earl had extricated himself from the valley, and formed into compact order. The Scots, ruined, as they had often been, by their temerity, perceived their fatal error when it was too late. Instead of an enemy in flight, they found an army under perfect discipline, advancing upon their broken and disordered columns; and having in vain endeavoured to regain their ranks, after a short resistance they were completely routed. Three hundred and fifty years after this, Cromwell, on the same ground, defeated the army of the Scottish Covenanters, which occupied the same admirable position, and with equal folly and precipitancy deserted it. Surrey's victory was complete, and for the time decided the fate of Scotland. Ten thousand men fell on the field, or in the pursuit. Sir Patrick de Graham, one of the noblest and wisest of the Scottish barons, disdained to ask for quarter, and was slain in circumstances which extorted the praise of the enemy.* A great multitude, including the principal of the Scottish nobility, were taken prisoners; and, next day, the King of England coming in person with the rest of his army before Dunbar, the castle surrendered at discretion. The Earls of Athole, Ross, and Menteith, with four barons, seventy knights, and many other brave men, submitted to the mercy of the conqueror.†

All the prisoners of rank were immediately sent in

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 96. Fordun & Hearne, p. 974.

† Scala Chronicle, p. 123.

chains to England, where they were for the present committed to close confinement in different Welsh and English castles.* After some time, the king compelled them to attend him in his wars in France; but even this partial liberty was not allowed them, till their sons were delivered into his hands as hostages.†

Edward was not slow to follow up the advantages which this important success had given him. Returning from Lothian, he sat down before the castle of Roxburgh, which was surrendered to him by James, the Steward of Scotland, who not only swore fealty and abjured the French alliance,‡ but prevailed upon many others of the Scottish nobility to forsake a struggle which was deemed desperate, and to submit to England. It was at his instigation that Ingeram de Umfraville surrendered the castle of Dumbarton,§ and gave up to Edward his daughters, Eva and Isobel, as hostages. Soon after, the strong fortress of Jedburgh was yielded to his mercy;|| and his victorious army being reinforced by a body of fifteen thousand men from Wales, he was enabled to send home that part of his English force, which had suffered most from fatigue in this expedition.

With these fresh levies he advanced to Edinburgh, made himself master of the castle after a siege of eight days;¶ passed rapidly to Stirling, which he found abandoned; and while there, the Earl of Ulster, with a new army of thirty thousand foot and four hundred horse, came to join the king, and complete the triumph of the English arms. The monarch continued his

* Peter Langtoft, Chron. p. 278.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. sub Ed. I. 25, p. 44; where a great many of the names of the prisoners will be found. ‡ Prynn's Edward I., p. 649.

§ Rotuli Scotiæ, 22 Ed. I., memb. 8 dorso.

|| Rymer, Fœd. vol. ii. pp. 714, 716.

¶ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 98.

progress without opposition to Perth, where he halted to keep the feast of the nativity of John the Baptist, with circumstances of high feudal solemnity, regaling his friends, creating new knights, and solacing himself and his barons. In the midst of these rejoicings, messengers arrived from the unhappy Baliol, announcing his submission, and imploring peace.* Edward disdained to treat with him in person, but informed him, that he intended, within fifteen days, to advance to Brechin; and that on Baliol's repairing to the castle there, the Bishop of Durham would announce the decision of his lord superior. This was none other than that of an absolute resignation of himself and his kingdom to the mercy of his conqueror; to which Baliol, now the mere shadow of a king, without a crown, an army, or a nobility, dejectedly submitted. In presence of the Bishop of Durham, and the Barons of England, he was first stript of his royal robes; after which they spoiled him of his crown and sceptre, and compelled him, standing as a criminal, with a white rod in his hand, to perform a humiliating feudal penance.† He confessed, that, misled by evil counsel and his own weakness, he had grievously offended his liege lord; he recapitulated his various transgressions, his league with France, and his hostilities against England; he acknowledged the justice of the invasion of his kingdom by Edward, in vindication of his violated rights; and three days after this, in the castle of Brechin, he resigned his kingdom of Scotland, its people and their homage, into the hands of his liege lord Edward, of his own free will and consent.‡ After

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 98.

† Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii, p. 167. Winton, vol. ii. p. 88.

‡ Pryne's Edward I., pp. 650, 651. See Notes and Illustrations, letter F.

this humiliating ceremony, Baliol delivered his eldest son, Edward, to the King of England, as a hostage for his future fidelity; and this youth, along with his discrowned father, were soon after sent by sea to London, where they remained for three years in confinement in the Tower.*

Thus ended the miserable and inglorious reign of John Baliol, a prince whose good dispositions might have ensured him a happier fate, had he been opposed to a less terrible and ambitious enemy than Edward the First; or had the courage and spirit, in which he was not deficient, been seconded by the efforts of a united nobility. But Edward, with a policy not dissimilar to that which we have adopted in our Eastern dominions, had succeeded in preventing all union amongst the most powerful Scottish barons, by arraying their private and selfish ambition against the love of their country; by sowing dissension in their councils, richly rewarding their treachery, and treating with unmitigated severity those who dared to love and defend the liberty of Scotland; and Baliol's character was not of that high stamp, which could unite such base and discordant materials, or baffle a policy so deep, and a power so overwhelming.

INTERREGNUM.

THE spirit of the Scottish people was for the time completely broken; and Edward, as he continued his

* Langtoft, Chron. vol. ii. p. 280. Speaking of Baliol,
First he was king, now is he soudioure,
And is at other spendyng bonden in the Toure.

expedition from Perth to Aberdeen, and from thence to Elgin in Moray, did not experience a single check in his progress; while most of the Scottish barons, who had escaped death or imprisonment, crowded in to renounce the French alliance, and renew their oaths of fealty. On his return from the north to hold his parliament at Berwick, in passing the ancient Abbey of Scone, he took with him the famous and fatal stone upon which, for many ages, the Scottish kings had been crowned and anointed. This, considered by the Scots as their national palladium, along with the Scottish sceptre and crown, the English monarch placed in the cathedral of Westminster, as an offering to Edward the Confessor, and a memorial of what he deemed his absolute conquest of Scotland;* a conquest, however, which, before a single year had elapsed, was entirely wrested from his hands.

Edward was desirous of annihilating everything which could preserve the patriotic feeling of the country which he had overrun. With this object, when at Scone, he mutilated the ancient chartulary of that abbey, the historical notices in which were perhaps fatal to his pretended claim of superiority, carrying off some of its charters, and tearing the seals.† Our historians affirm, that in his progress he industriously sought out and destroyed every monument connected with the antiquity and independence of the nation. The character of Edward, and his conduct at Scone, give great probability to the assertion.‡

On the 28th of August, the king held his parliament

* Fordun a Goodal, book xi. chap. xxv. vol. ii. p. 166. Hemingford, vol. i. pp. 37, 100.

† Chart. Scon. f. 26, quoted by Hailes, vol. i. p. 243.

‡ Innes's Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, pp. 554, 555. See Notes and Illustrations, letter G.

at Berwick, for the purpose of receiving the fealty of the clergy and laity of Scotland. Multitudes of Scotsmen of all ranks resorted to him—earls, barons, knights, and esquires. The terror of his arms; the well-known severity of his temper, which made imprisonment and the immediate confiscation of their estates the consequence of their refusal; the example of their nobility, who now felt, too late for remedy, the sad effect of their dissensions, all combined to render this submission to Edward a measure as unanimous as it was humiliating; and the oaths of homage, the renunciation of the French alliance, and the names of the vassals, which fill thirty-five skins of parchment, are still preserved amongst the English archives.*

After the battle of Dunbar, Bruce earl of Carrick, who was then in the service of England, reminded Edward of his promise to place him on the throne. “Have I nothing to do,” said the haughty monarch, “but to conquer kingdoms for you?” Judging it probably a more befitting occupation, the King of England empowered the Earl of Carrick, and his son the younger Bruce, to receive to his peace the inhabitants of their own lands of Carrick and Annandale.† How little did he then think, that the youthful baron, employed under his royal commission in this degrading office, was destined to wrest from him his conquest, and to become the restorer of the freedom of his country!

Edward next directed his attention to the settlement of his new dominions; and the measures which he adopted for this purpose were equally politic and just. He commanded the sheriffs of the several counties in Scotland, to restore to the clergy their forfeited lands;

* Ragman Rolls, printed by Bannatyne Club, 1834.

† Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 714

and he granted to the Scottish bishops for ever, the privilege of bequeathing their effects by will, as fully as the right was enjoyed by the prelates of England. The widows of those barons whose husbands had died before the French alliance, and who had not since then been married to the king's enemies, were faithfully restored to their estates; but, effectually to secure their allegiance, the English Guardian of Scotland was permitted, at his option, to take possession of the castles and strengths upon their lands. He even assigned pensions to the wives of many of his Scottish prisoners; and few of those who held office under the unfortunate Baliol were dispossessed. The jurisdictions of Scotland were suffered to remain with those who possessed them, under ancient and hereditary titles; no wanton or unnecessary act of rigour was committed, no capricious changes introduced, yet all means were adopted to give security to his conquest. John Warrene earl of Surrey, was made Guardian of Scotland; Hugh de Cressingham, Treasurer; and William Ormesby, Justiciary. Henry de Percy, nephew of Warrene, was appointed keeper of the county of Galloway, and the sheriffdom of Ayr; the castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, and Edinburgh, were committed to English captains; a new seal, in place of the ancient Great Seal of Scotland, surrendered by Baliol and broken into pieces at Brechin, was placed in the hands of Walter de Agmondesham, an English chancellor; and an Exchequer for receiving the king's rents and taxes was instituted at Berwick, on the model of that at Westminster.*

* Madox, *Hist. of Exchequer*, p. 550. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. pp. 29, 35.

PERIOD OF WALLACE.

EDWARD had scarcely made this settlement of Scotland, and set out for his own dominions, when he found, that instead of the acclamations due to a conqueror, he was to be received at home with the lowering countenances of discontent and rebellion. He had incurred a heavy expense in his Scottish expedition, and he was now anxious to carry on with vigour his war with France ; but the clergy of England, headed by a proud and firm prelate, Winchelsea archbishop of Canterbury, demurred as to the supplies which he demanded ; and a powerful party of the barons, led by the Constable and the Marshal of England, refusing to pass over into France, indignantly retired from parliament, with a great body of their armed retainers.

These discontents in England encouraged the people of Scotland to rise against their English oppressors. Although deserted by their nobility, a spirit of determined hatred against England was strongly manifested by the great body of the nation. Throughout the whole country, numerous bands of armed peasants infested the highways, and in contempt of government plundered the English, and laid waste their lands. Their numbers increased, and their successes soon became alarming. They besieged the castles garrisoned by the English, took prisoners, committed all kinds of rapine and homicide ; and the impression made upon the mind of Edward may be judged of by a letter still remaining, addressed to his treasurer Cressingham, commanding him not to scruple to spend the whole

money in his exchequer to put down these violent disorders.*

The patriotic principle which seems at this time to have entirely deserted the highest ranks of the Scottish nobles, whose selfish dissensions had brought ruin and bondage upon their country, still burned pure in the breasts of these broken men and rebels, as they are termed by Edward. The lesser barons, being less contaminated by the money and intrigues of England, preserved also the healthy and honest feelings of national independence; and it happened, that at this time, and out of this middle class of the lesser barons, arose an extraordinary individual, who, at first driven into the field by a desire to avenge his individual injuries, within a short period of time, in the reconquest of his native country, developed a character which may, without exaggeration, be termed heroic. This was William Wallace, or Walays, the second son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie, near Paisley, a knight, whose family was ancient, but neither rich nor noble.† In those days bodily strength and knightly prowess were of the highest consequence in commanding respect and ensuring success. Wallace had an iron frame. His make, as he grew up to manhood, approached almost to the gigantic; and his personal strength was superior to the common run of even the strongest men. His passions were hasty and violent; a strong hatred to the English, who now insolently lorded it over Scotland, began to show itself at a very early period of his life; and this aversion was fostered in the youth by an uncle, a priest, who,

* *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 25 Ed. I., vol. i. p. 42.

† *Winton's Chron.* vol. ii. p. 91, book viii. chap. xiii. *Fordun a Goodal*, vol. ii. p. 169.

deploring the calamities of his country, was **never** weary of extolling the sweets of liberty, and lamenting the miseries of dependence.*

The state of national feeling in Scotland, at this time, has been already described; and it is evident, that the repressing of a rising spirit of resistance, which began so strongly to show itself, required a judicious union of firmness, gentleness, and moderation. Upon the part of the English all this was wanting. Warrene, the governor, had, on account of ill health, retired to the north of England. Cressingham, the treasurer, was a proud, ignorant ecclesiastic. Edward, before he departed, had left orders that all who had not yet taken the oath of fealty, including not only the lesser barons but the burghers and inferior gentry, should be compelled to do so under severe penalties, exacted by military force; and Ormesby, the justiciary, had excited deep and general odium, by the intolerable rigour with which these penalties were extorted.

The intrepid temper of Wallace appears first to have shown itself in a quarrel, in the town of Lanark, with some of the English officers who insulted him. This led to bloodshed; and he would have been overpowered and slain in the streets, had it not been for the interference of his mistress, to whose house he fled, and by whose assistance he escaped to the neighbouring woods. In a spirit of cruel and unmanly revenge, Hislop, the English sheriff, attacked the house, and put her to death; for which he was himself assaulted and slain by Wallace.† The consequence of this was to him the same as to many others, who at this time preferred a life of dangerous freedom to

* Fordun a Goodal, book xii. chap. iii. vol. ii. p. 223.

† Winton, vo. ii. p. 95, book viii. chap. xiii. Fordun a Hearne, p. 976.

the indulgence and security of submission.* He was proclaimed a traitor, banished his home, and driven to seek his safety in the wilds and fastnesses of his country. It was here that he collected by degrees a little band, composed at first of a few brave men of desperate fortunes, who had forsworn their vassalage to their lords, and refused submission to Edward, and who at first carried on that predatory warfare against the English, to which they were impelled as well by the desire of plunder, and the necessity of subsistence, as by the love of liberty. These men chose Wallace for their chief. Superior rank—for as yet none of the nobility or barons had joined them—his uncommon courage and personal strength, and his unconquerable thirst of vengeance against the English, naturally influenced their choice, and the result proved how well it had fallen. His plans were laid with so much judgment, that in his first attacks against straggling parties of the English, he was generally successful; and if surprised by unexpected numbers, his superior strength and bravery, and the ardour with which he inspired his followers, enabled them to overpower every effort which was made against them.

To him these early and desultory excursions against the enemy were highly useful, as he became acquainted with the strongest passes of his country, and acquired habits of command over men of fierce and turbulent spirits. To them the advantage was reciprocal, for they began gradually to feel an undoubting confidence in their leader; they were accustomed to rapid marches, to endure fatigue and privation, to be on their guard against surprise, to feel the effects of discipline and

* Triveti Annales, p. 299.

obedience, and by the successes which these ensured, to regard with contempt the nation by whom they had allowed themselves to be overcome.

The consequences of these partial advantages over the enemy were soon seen. At first few had dared to unite themselves to so desperate a band. But confidence came with success, and numbers flocked to the standard of revolt. The continued oppressions of the English, the desire of revenge, and even the romantic and perilous nature of the undertaking, recruited the ranks of Wallace, and he was soon at the head of a great body of Scottish exiles.*

When it was known that this brave man had raised open banner against the English, Sir William Douglas,† who had been taken by Edward at the siege of Berwick, and restored to his liberty, upon swearing fealty, disregarding his oath, joined the Scottish force with his numerous vassals. Ormesby, the English justiciary, was at this time holding his court at Scone; and Surrey, the guardian, had gone to attend the English parliament. Wallace, by a rapid march, surprised the justiciary, dispersed his followers, and, whilst he himself escaped with the greatest difficulty, took a rich booty and many prisoners.‡ This exploit giving new confidence to their little army, they more openly and boldly ravaged the country, and put all Englishmen to the sword. As circumstances allowed, they either acted together, or engaged in separate expeditions. Whilst Wallace marched into Lennox, the castles of Disdeir and Sanquhar were taken by

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 118. Trivetii Annales, p. 299.

† This William Douglas was, according to Hume of Godscroft, the seventh Lord Douglas. He was called William the Hardy, or Longleg. Hume's Hist. of House of Douglas and Angus, vol. i. p. 32.

‡ Trivetii Annales, 299.

Douglas ; and when their united strength afterwards broke in upon the west of Scotland, they were joined by some of the most powerful of the Scottish nobility. The Steward of Scotland, and his brother, Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, Alexander de Lindesay, and Sir Richard Lundin, with a spirited prelate, Wishart bishop of Glasgow, were amongst the number.*

Their united forces, led by the military skill and animated by the personal intrepidity of Wallace, continued to be successful in repeated attacks upon the English ; and these successes were frequently followed, as was to be expected, by many circumstances of cruelty and violence. Their revenge seems especially to have been directed against the English ecclesiastics who were possessed of Scottish livings. A public edict, passed by the Scottish Estates in 1296, had banished these intruders from Scotland ; and this edict Wallace, it is said, improved upon with a refinement in cruelty. Some aged priests, and it is even asserted, although almost too horrid to believe, some helpless women, had their hands tied behind their backs, and in this helpless state were thrown from high bridges into rivers, their dying agonies affording sport to their merciless captors.†

The conduct of the younger Bruce, afterwards the heroic Robert the First, was at this period vacillating and inconsistent. His large possessions in Carrick and Annandale made him master of an immense tract of country, extending from the Firth of Clyde to the Solway ; and the number of armed vassals which his summons could call into the field, would have formed

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 246.

† Hen. Knighton, p. 2514, apud Twysden, vol. i. Raynaldi, *Cont. Baronii*, vol. iv. p. 66.

an invaluable accession to the insurgents. His power caused him to be narrowly watched by England; and as his inconstant character became suspected by the Wardens of the Western Marches, they summoned him to treat on the affairs of his master the king at Carlisle. Bruce, not daring to disobey, resorted thither with a numerous attendance of his friends, and was compelled to make oath on the consecrated host, and the sword of Thomas-a-Becket, that he would continue faithful to the cause of Edward. To give a proof of his fidelity, he ravaged the estates of Sir William Douglas, then with Wallace, seized his wife and children, and carried them into Annandale. Having thus defeated suspicion, and saved his lands, he privately assembled his father's retainers; talked lightly of an extorted oath, from which the pope would absolve him; and urged them to follow him, and join the brave men who had taken arms against the English. This, however, they refused, probably because their master and overlord, the elder Bruce, was then with Edward. Robert, however, nothing moved by the disappointment, collected his own tenants, marched to join Wallace, and openly took arms against the English.*

The news of this rebellion reached the King of England, as he was preparing to sail for Flanders. He at first disregarded it; and as many of the most powerful of the Scottish nobles were then either prisoners in England, or in attendance upon himself, and ready to embark for the continent, he was easily persuaded that it would be instantly put down by the authority of the governor. Anthony Beck, however, the martial Bishop of Durham, was despatched in great haste into Scotland; and Edward, finding from his account, that

* Hemmingford, vol. i. p. 120. Knighton, p. 2514.

the revolt was of a serious nature, commanded the Earl of Surrey to call forth the military force on the north of the Trent, and, without delay, to reduce the insurgents.*

This, however, was no easy matter. Surrey sent his nephew, Henry Percy, before him into Scotland, at the head of an army of forty thousand foot, and three hundred armed horse. Percy marched through Annandale to Lochmaben, where, during the night, his encampment was suddenly attacked by the Scots with great fury. It was very dark, and Percy's men knew not where to rally. In this emergency they set fire to the wooden houses where they lay, and, guided to their banners by the blaze, repulsed the enemy, and marched towards Ayr,† for the purpose of receiving the men of Galloway to the peace of the king. It was here told them that the Scottish army was not four miles distant; and Percy, having struck his tents, advanced at the first break of the morning to Irvine, and soon discovered their squadrons drawn up nearly opposite to him, on the border of a small lake. This force, which equalled the English in foot, although inferior in horse, was sufficient, under able conduct, to have given battle to Percy, but it was enfeebled by dissension amongst its leaders; and although Wallace was there to direct them, the pride of these feudal barons would not submit to be commanded by him. Accordingly, most of these chiefs became anxious to negotiate terms for themselves, and to save their lands. Sir Richard Lundin, a Scottish knight, who had till now refused allegiance to Edward, went over with his followers to the army of Percy, declaring it to be folly

* Hemingford, p. 122. Tyrrel, Hist. Eng. p. 112, vol. iii.

† Hen. Knighton, p. 2515.

to remain longer with a party at variance with itself. At the same time, Bruce, the Steward of Scotland, and his brother Alexander de Lindesay, Sir William Douglas, and the Bishop of Glasgow, made submission to Edward, and entreated his forgiveness for the robberies and slaughters which they had committed. An instrument, commemorating this desertion of their country, to which their seals were appended, was drawn up in Norman French ;* but this brave man treated all proposals of submission with high disdain. Although the greater nobles had deserted the cause, he knew that many of their vassals were enthusiastically attached to his person and fortunes.† He could muster also a large body of his own tried and veteran followers ; and putting himself at the head of these, he retired indignantly to the north. Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell was the only baron who accompanied him.

The conduct of the Scottish nobility, who had capitulated to Percy, was irresolute and contradictory. Edward had accepted their offers of submission ; but although they would not act in concert with Wallace, whose successes had now effectually raised the spirit of the nation, they drew back from their agreement with Percy, and delayed the delivery of their hostages, until security should be given them for the preservation of the rights and liberties of their country. Sir William Douglas and the Bishop of Glasgow, however, considered that they were bound to abide by the capitulation signed at Irvine ; and finding themselves unable to perform their articles of agreement, they

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, dated 9th July, 1297, vol. ii. p. 774. Rymer has read the concluding sentence of this deed erroneously, as has been shown by Sir F. Palgrave. The words which he prints as “ *Écrit a Sire Willaume*,” are “ *Éscrit a Irvine*.”

† Hemingford, vol. i. p. 125.

voluntarily surrendered to the English.* It was the fate of this last mentioned prelate to be trusted by neither party. Wallace, whose passions were fiery and impetuous, loudly accused him of treachery, attacked his castle, ravaged his lands, and led his servants and family captive; whilst the King of England declared that, under this surrender of himself at the castle of Roxburgh, a purpose was concealed of betraying that important fortress to the Scots.† Notwithstanding the capitulation of Irvine, the spirit of resistance became soon very general throughout the northern counties. In Aberdeenshire, especially, the revolt was serious; and Edward directed his writs to the bishop and sheriffs of the county, commanding them to punish the rebels for the murders and robberies which they had been committing, and to be on their guard against an intended attack upon the castle of Urquhart, then held by William de Warrene.‡

What were the particular successes of Wallace and his brethren in arms, during the summer months, which elapsed between the treaty at Irvine and the battle of Stirling, we have no authentic memorials to determine.§ That they had the effect of recruiting his army, and giving him the confidence of the body of the people of Scotland, is certain; for Knighton, an old English historian, informs us, “that the whole followers of the nobility had attached themselves to him; and that although the persons of their lords were with the King of England, their heart was with Wallace, who found his army reinforced by so immense a multitude of the Scots, that the community of the land obeyed him as

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 124. Tyrrel, Hist. Eng. vol. iii. p. 112.

† Hailes' Annals, vol. i. p. 250.

‡ Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. pp. 41, 42.

§ From 9th July to 3d September.

their leader and their prince.”* Edward, in the meantime, dissatisfied with the dilatory conduct of Surrey, in not sooner putting down a revolt, which the king’s energetic and confident spirit caused him to treat too lightly, superseded him, and appointed Brian Fitz-Alan governor of Scotland. At the same time he liberated from their imprisonment in various castles through England, the Scottish nobles and barons taken at the battle of Dunbar, and carried them along with him to Flanders. Their forfeited lands were restored; but to secure their fidelity, the king compelled their eldest sons to remain in England as hostages.† Others of the Scottish nobles, whose fidelity was less suspected, were permitted to return home, under a promise of assisting in the reduction and pacification of the country; and as many of the most powerful and warlike English barons as he could spare from his expedition to Flanders, were directed to repair to Scotland, with all the horse and foot which they could muster, and to co-operate with Fitz-Alan and Surrey.‡ Having taken these precautions, King Edward passed over to Flanders on the twenty-second of August.§

It was fortunate for the Scots, that Warrene the Earl of Surrey, evinced great remissness in insisting on the fulfilment of the treaty of Irvine. He was on bad terms with Cressingham the treasurer, a proud and violent churchman, who preferred the cuirass to the cassock;|| and it is probable, that his being superseded in his government of Scotland, and yet commanded to remain with the army, was an indignity

* Knighton, apud Twysden, p. 2516.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, pp. 44, 45. Trivet, p. 301.

‡ Rot. Scot. pp. 47, 48. Surrey, although superseded in the command, remained with the army.

§ Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 120.

|| Hemingford, p. 130.

which so high a baron could ill brook.* The consequences of this inactivity were soon apparent. The Scottish barons still delayed the delivery of their hostages, and cautiously awaited the event of the war; whilst Wallace, at the head of a powerful army, having succeeded in expelling the English from the castles of Forfar, Brechin, Montrose, and nearly all their strongholds on the north of the Forth, had just begun the siege of the castle of Dundee, when he received intelligence that the English army, under the command of the Earl of Surrey, and Cressingham the treasurer, was on its march to Stirling. Well acquainted with the country there, his military skill taught him of what importance it would be to secure the high ground on the river Forth, above Cambuskenneth, before Surrey had passed the bridge at Stirling; and having commanded the citizens of Dundee, on pain of death, to continue the siege of the castle, he marched with great expedition, and found, to his satisfaction, that he had anticipated the English, so as to give him time to choose the most favourable position for his army, before the columns of Cressingham and Surrey had reached the other side of the river.

The nature of the ground concealed the Scottish army, which amounted to forty thousand foot, and one hundred and eighty horse. Wallace's intention was to induce the main body of the English to pass the bridge, and to attack them before they had time to form. Surrey was superior in numbers. He commanded a force of fifty thousand foot soldiers, and one thousand armed horse. Lord Henry Percy had marched from Carlisle towards Stirling, with a reinforcement of eight thousand foot and three hundred horse; but

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 794.

Cressingham the treasurer, dreading the expense of supporting so great a force, had, with an ill-judged economy, given orders for the disbanding these succours, as he considered the army in the field to be sufficient for the emergency.*

The Steward of Scotland, the Earl of Lennox, and others of the Scottish barons, were at this time with the English army; and on coming to Stirling, requested Surrey to delay an attack till they had attempted to bring Wallace to terms. They soon returned, and declared that they had failed in their hopes of pacification, but that they themselves would join the English force with sixty armed horse. It was now evening, and the Scottish barons, in leaving the army, met a troop of English soldiers returning from forage. Whether from accident or design, a skirmish took place between these two bodies, and the Earl of Lennox stabbed an English soldier in the throat. This, of course, raised a tumult in the camp; a cry arose that they were betrayed by the Scots; and there seems to be little doubt that Lennox and his friends were secretly negotiating with Wallace, and only waited for a favourable opportunity of joining him. 'Crying out for vengeance, the English soldiers carried their wounded comrade before their general, and reproached him with having trusted those who had broken their faith, and would betray them to the enemy. "Stay this one night," said he, "and if to-morrow they do not keep their promise, you shall have ample revenge." He then commanded his soldiers to be ready to pass the bridge next day: and thus, with a carelessness little worthy of an experienced commander, who had the fate of a great army dependent on his activity

* Hemingford, p. 127.

and foresight, he permitted Wallace to tamper with his countrymen in the English service; to become acquainted with the numbers and array of the English force; and to adopt, at his leisure, his own measures for their discomfiture.

Early next day, five thousand foot and a large body of the Welsh passed the bridge by sunrise, and soon after repassed it, on finding that they were not followed by the rest of the army, and that the Earl of Surrey was still asleep in the camp. After an hour the earl awoke, the army was drawn up, and as was then usual before any great battle, many new knights were created, some of whom were fated to die in their first field. It was now the time when the Scottish barons ought to have joined with their sixty horse; and Surrey, having looked for them in vain, commanded the infantry to cross the bridge. This order was scarcely given when it was again recalled, as the Steward of Scotland and the Earl of Lennox were seen approaching, and it was hoped, brought offers of pacification. But the contrary was the case. They had failed, they said, in all their efforts to prevail on the Scottish army to listen to any proposals, and had not been able to persuade a single soldier to desert. As a last resource, Surrey, who seems to have been aware of the strong position occupied by the Scots, and of the danger of crossing the river, despatched two friars to propose terms to Wallace, who made this memorable reply:—"Return to your friends, and tell them that we came here with no peaceful intent, but ready for battle, and determined to avenge our own wrongs and set our country free. Let your masters come and attack us: we are ready to meet them beard

to beard.”* Incensed at this cool defiance, the English presumptuously and eagerly demanded to be led on; upon which, Sir Richard Lundin, a Scottish knight, who had gone over to the enemy at Irvine, anxiously implored them to be still: “If,” said he, “you once attempt to pass the bridge, you are desperately throwing away your lives. The men can only cross two by two. Our enemies command our flank, and in an instant will be upon us. I know a ford not far from hence where you may pass by sixty at a time. Give me but five hundred horse, and a small body of foot, I shall turn the enemy’s flank, whilst you, lord earl, and the rest of the army, may pass over in security.” This was the sound advice of a veteran soldier who knew the country; but although it convinced some, it only irritated others, and among these last, Hugh Cressingham the treasurer. “Why, my lord,” cried he to Surrey, who was prudently hesitating, “why do we protract the war, and spend the king’s money? Let us pass on as becomes us, and do our duty.”†

Stung with this reproach, Surrey weakly submitted his better judgment to the rashness of this churchman, and commanded the army to defile over the bridge. Sir Marmaduke Twenge, a knight of great experience and courage, along with Cressingham himself, led the van; and when nearly the half of the army had passed the bridge, perceiving that the Scots kept their strong ground on the heights, Twenge, with chivalrous impe-

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 126.

† “Mirum dictu,” exclaims Hemingford, in an animated reflection on the madness of Surrey’s conduct, “sed terribile, quid in eventu, quod tot et tanti discreti viri dum scirent hostes impromptu, strictum pontem ascenderint, quod bini equestres, vix et cum difficultate simul transire potuerunt.” Hemingford, vol. i. p. 128.

tuosity, gave orders for a charge, and made the heavy-armed cavalry spur their horses up the hill. The consequence of this precipitate movement was fatal to the English. A part of the Scottish army had by this time made a circuit and possessed themselves of the foot of the bridge; * and Wallace, the moment that he saw the communication between the van and the rear of the English force thus cut off, and all retreat impossible, rushed rapidly down from the high ground, and attacking Twenge and Cressingham, before they had time to form, threw them into inextricable disorder. In an instant all was tumult and confusion. Many were slain, multitudes of the heavy-armed horse plunged into the river, and were drowned in making a vain effort to rejoin Surrey, who kept on the other side, a spectator of the discomfiture of the flower of his army. In the meantime, the standard-bearers of the king, and of the earl, with another part of the army, passed over, and shared the fate of their companions, being instantly cut to pieces. A spirited scene now took place. Sir Marmaduke Twenge, on looking round, perceived that the Scots had seized the bridge, and that he and his soldiers were cut off from the rest of the army. A knight advised, in this perilous crisis, that they should throw themselves into the river, and swim their horses to the opposite bank. "What," cried Twenge, "volunteer to drown myself, when I can cut my way through the midst of them, back to the bridge? Never let such foul slander fall on us!" So saying he put spurs to his horse, and driving him into the midst of the enemy, hewed a

* Hemingford, 128.—"Descenderunt de monte, et missis viris lanceariis occupaverunt pedem pontis, ita quod extunc nulli patebat transitus vel regressus." See also Walsingham, p. 73.

passage for himself through the thickest of the Scottish columns, and rejoined his friends, with his nephew and his armour-bearer, in perfect safety.

Meanwhile the Scots committed a dreadful slaughter. It is the remark of the historian Hemingford, who describes this victory of Stirling from the information of eye-witnesses, that in all Scotland there could not be found a place better fitted for the defeat of a powerful army by a handful of men, than the ground which Wallace had chosen.* Multitudes perished in the river; and as the confusion and slaughter increased, and the entire defeat of the English became inevitable, the Earl of Lennox and the Steward of Scotland, who, although allies of the King of England, were secretly in treaty with Wallace, threw off the mask, and led a body of their followers to destroy and plunder the flying English. Surrey, on being joined by Sir Marmaduke Twenge, remained no longer on the field; but having hastily ordered him to occupy the castle of Stirling, which he promised to relieve in ten days, he rode, without drawing bridle, to Berwick: a clear proof of the total defeat of the powerful army which he had led into Scotland. From Berwick he proceeded to join the Prince of Wales in the south, and left the country which had been intrusted to him, exposed to ravage and desolation. Although the English historians restrict the loss of soldiers in this fatal and important battle to five thousand foot, and a hundred heavy-armed horse,† it is probable that nearly one

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 128.

† So say Hemingford and Knighton. But Trivet, p. 307, and Walsingham, p. 73, assert, that before the half of the English army had passed, the Scots attacked and put almost all of them to the sword. Now the English army consisted of fifty thousand foot and one thousand horse: Hemingford, p. 127. See Notes and Illustrations, letter H.

half of the English army was cut to pieces, and Cressingham the treasurer was amongst the first who fell. Hemingford allows, that the plunder which fell into the hands of the Scots was very great, and that waggons were filled with the spoils. Smarting under the cruelty and rapacity with which they had been treated by the English, the Scots were not slow now to take their revenge, nor was Wallace of a temper to restrain his soldiers. Few prisoners seem to have fallen into their hands, and the slaughter was general and indiscriminate. So deep was the detestation in which the character of Cressingham was regarded, that his dead body was mangled, the skin torn from the limbs, and in savage triumph cut into pieces.*

The decisive nature of the defeat is, perhaps, most apparent, from the important consequences which attended it. To use the words of Knighton, "this awful beginning of hostilities roused the spirit of Scotland, and sunk the hearts of the English."† Dundee immediately surrendered to Wallace, and rewarded his army by a rich booty of arms and money. In a short time not a fortress or castle in Scotland remained in the hands of Edward. The castles of Edinburgh and Roxburgh were dismantled; and Berwick, upon the advance of the Scottish army, having been hastily abandoned, Wallace sent Henry de Haliburton, a Scottish knight, to occupy this important frontier town.‡ Thus, by the efforts of a single man, not only unassisted, but actually thwarted and opposed by the

* Trivet Ann. p. 307. Hemingford, p. 130. The Chron. Lanercost, p. 190, says, that Wallace ordered as much of his skin to be taken off as would make a sword belt. This is the origin of the stories of Abercromby, vol. i. p. 531, that the Scots made *girths* of his skin, and of others that they made saddles of it. Hailes, vol. i. p. 252.

† Hen. Knighton, p. 2519.

‡ Scala Chronicon, a Stevenson, p. 124.

nobility of the country, was the iron power of Edward completely broken, and Scotland once more able to lift her head among free nations.

A dreadful dearth and famine, no unfrequent accompaniment of the ravages of war, now fell severely upon the country; and Wallace, profiting by the panic inspired by his victory at Stirling, resolved upon an immediate expedition into England.* To enable his own people to lay in, against the time of scarcity, the provisions which would otherwise be consumed by his numerous army, and to support his soldiers during the winter months in an enemy's country, were wise objects. Previous, however, to his marching into England, he commanded, that from every county, barony, town, and village, a certain proportion of the fighting men, between sixteen and sixty, should be levied. These levies, however, even after so decisive a victory as that of Stirling, were tardily made. The vassals of Scotland, tied up by the rigid fetters of the feudal law, could not join Wallace without the authority of their overlords; and as most of the Scottish nobility had left hostages for their fidelity in the hands of Edward, and many of them possessed great estates in England, which, upon joining Wallace, would have immediately been forfeited, they did not yet dare to take the field against the English. A jealousy, too, of the high military renown and great popularity of Wallace, prevented all cordial co-operation; and the contempt with which this deliverer of his country must have regarded the nobility, who yet sheltered themselves under the protection of Edward, was not calculated to allay this feeling. The battle of Stirling was fought on the eleventh of September; and on the

* Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 172.

twenty-fifth of that month the English government, alarmed at the success of Wallace, sent letters to the principal Scottish nobility, praising them for their fidelity to the king; informing them that they were aware the Earl of Surrey was on his way to England, (a delicate way of noticing the flight of Warrene from Stirling;) and directing them to join Brian Fitz-Alan, the governor of Scotland, with all their horse and foot, in order to put down the rebellion of the Scots. The only nobles with whom the English government did not communicate, were the Earls of Caithness, Ross, Mar, Athole, Fife, and Carrick. Fife, however, was a minor; the others, we may presume, had by this time joined the party of Wallace.*

The great majority of the nobles being still against him, this intrepid leader found it difficult to procure new levies, and was constrained to adopt severe measures against all who were refractory. Gibbets were erected in each barony and county town; and some burgesses of Aberdeen, who had disobeyed the summons, were hanged.† After this example he soon found himself at the head of a numerous army; and having taken with him, as his partner in command, Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, then a young soldier of great promise, and afterwards regent of the kingdom, he marched towards the north of England, and threatened Northumberland.‡ Such was the terror inspired by the approach of the Scots, that the whole population of this county, with their wives and chil-

* John Comyn of Badenoch; Patrick earl of Dunbar; Umfraville earl of Angus; Alexander earl of Menteith; Malise earl of Strathern; James the Steward of Scotland; John Comyn earl of Buchan; Malcolm earl of Lennox; and William earl of Sutherland; Nicholas de la Haye; Ingelram de Umfraville; Richard Fraser, and Alexander de Lindesaye; were the nobles written to by the English government. *Rotuli Scot.* vol. i. p. 49.

† *Fordun a Goodal*, vol. ii. p. 172.

‡ *Hemingford*, vol. i. p. 131.

dren, their cattle and household goods, deserted their dwellings, and took refuge in Newcastle. The Scots, to whom plunder was a principal object, delayed their advance; and the Northumbrians, imagining the danger to be over, returned home; but Wallace, informed of this by his scouts, made a rapid march across the border, and dreadfully ravaged the two counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, carrying off an immense booty, and having the head-quarters of his army in the forest of Rothebury. "At this time," says Hemingford, "the praise of God was unheard in any church and monastery through the whole country, from Newcastle-upon-Tyne to the gates of Carlisle; for the monks, canons regular, and other priests, who were ministers of the Lord, fled, with the whole people, from the face of the enemy; nor was there any to oppose them, except that now and then a few English, who belonged to the castle of Alnwick, and other strengths, ventured from their safe-holds, and slew some stragglers. But these were slight successes; and the Scots roved over the country from the Feast of St Luke to St Martin's day,* inflicting upon it all the miseries of unrestrained rapine and bloodshed."†

After this, Wallace assembled his whole army, and proceeded in his destructive march to Carlisle. He did not deem it prudent, however, to attack this city, which was strongly garrisoned; and contented himself with laying waste Cumberland and Annandale, from Inglewood forest to Derwentwater and Cockermouth.‡ It was next determined to invade the county of Durham, which would have been easily accomplished, as

* From 18th Oct. to 11th Nov.

† Hemingford, vol. i. p. 132.

‡ Fordun a Hearne, p. 980.

three thousand foot and a hundred armed horse were all that could be mustered for its defence. But the winter now set in with great severity. The frost was so intense, and the scarcity of provisions so grievous, that multitudes of the Scots perished by cold or famine, and Wallace commanded a retreat. On returning to Hexham, where there was a rich monastery, which had already been plundered and deserted on the advance, a striking scene occurred. Three monks were seen in the solitary monastery. Thinking that the tide of war had passed over, they had crept back, to repair the ravages it had left, when suddenly they saw the army returning, and fled in terror into a little chapel. In a moment the Scottish soldiers with their long lances were upon them, calling, on peril of their lives, to show them the treasures of their monastery. "Alas," said one of the monks, "it is but a short time since you yourselves have seized our whole property, and you know best where it now is." At this moment Wallace himself came into the chapel, and, commanding his soldiers to be silent, requested one of the canons to celebrate mass. The monk obeyed, and Wallace, all armed as he was, and surrounded by his soldiers, reverently attended; when it came to the elevation of the host, he stepped out of the chapel to cast off his helmet and lay aside his arms, but in this short absence the fury and avarice of his soldiers broke out. They pressed on the priest, snatched the chalice from the altar, tore away its ornaments and the sacred vestments, and even stole the missal in which the service had been begun. When their master returned, he found the priest in horror and dismay, and gave orders that the sacrilegious wretches who had committed the outrage, should be sought for and put to death.

Meanwhile he took the canons under his protection. "Remain with me," said he, "it is that alone which can secure you. My soldiers are evil disposed. I cannot justify, and I dare not punish them."* This sacrilegious attack was the more unpardonable, as the monastery of Hexham was dedicated to the Patron Saint of Scotland, and enjoyed a perpetual protection from King David. Wallace, to atone for the outrage, granted a charter of protection to the priory and convent, by which its lands, men, and moveables, were admitted under the peace of the king, and all persons interdicted from doing them injury.† The Scots now advanced to Newcastle, but finding the garrison prepared to stand a siege, they contented themselves with ravaging the adjacent country; and having collected the booty, they allotted their part to the Galwegians who were with the army, and marched homewards.‡

In revenge for this terrible visitation, Lord Robert Clifford collected the strength of Carlisle and Cumberland, and twice invaded Annandale with an army of twenty thousand foot and a hundred horse. On passing the Solway, it was proclaimed by sound of trumpet, that every soldier should plunder for himself, and keep his own booty; on hearing which, the infantry with undisciplined rapacity dispersed, and the horse alone remained together. In consequence of this, nothing was effected worthy of so powerful an army. Three

* Hemingford, vol. i. pp. 133, 134. Knighton, p. 2521.

† This famous instrument is granted in name of "Andrew de Moray, and William Wallace, leaders of the army of Scotland, in the name of the illustrious prince, John, by the Grace of God, King of Scotland, and with consent of the Estates of the Kingdom." It is dated at Hexham, on the 8th of November, 1297. Hemingford, p. 135.

‡ "Dividentes inter se spolia quæsitæ, tradiderunt Galivalensibus partes suas, et abierunt in loca sua." Hemingford, p. 136.

hundred and eight Scots were slain, ten villages or hamlets burnt, and a few prisoners taken. This happened at Christmas. In his second inroad, the town of Annan, and the church of Gysborne, were burnt and plundered.* Annandale belonged to Robert Bruce; and the destruction of his lands and villages determined him once more to desert the English, and join the party of the patriots.

Soon after his return from his expedition into England, Wallace, in an assembly held at the Forest Kirk in Selkirkshire, which was attended by the Earl of Lennox, William Douglas, and others of the principal nobility, was elected Governor of Scotland, in name of King John, and with consent of the community of Scotland.† Strengthened by this high title, which he had so well deserved, and which the common people believed was ratified by the express approval of St Andrew, who presented to the hero a sacred sword, to be used in his battles against the English; ‡ he proceeded to reward his friends and fellow-soldiers, to punish his enemies; and, despising the jealousy and desertion of a great majority of the nobility, to adopt and enforce those public measures which he considered necessary for securing the liberty of the country. He conferred the office of Constable of Dundee upon Alexander Skirmishur, or Scrimgeour, and his heirs, for his services in bearing the royal banner of Scotland.§ By a strict severity, he restrained the licentiousness of his soldiers, and endea-

* Knighton, p. 2522.

† Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 174. Crawford, Hist. of House of Douglas, p. 22, MS., quoted in Sir R. Sibbald's Commentary on the Relations Arnaldi Blair.

‡ Fordun a Goodal, p. 170.

§ This famous grant is dated at Torphichen, March 29, 1298; apud Anderson, Diplomata Scotiæ.

voured to introduce discipline into his army.* In order to secure a certain proportion of new levies, at any time when the danger or exigency of the state required it, he divided the kingdom into military districts. In each shire, barony, lordship, town, and burgh, he appointed a muster-book to be made, of the number of fighting men which they contained, between the age of sixteen and sixty;† and from these he drew at pleasure, and in case of refusal under pain of life and limb, as many recruits as he thought requisite. In a short time, such were the effects of his firm and courageous dealing in the government, that the most powerful of the nobility were compelled, by the fears of imprisonment, to submit to his authority, although they envied him his high elevation, and whenever an opportunity presented itself, took part with the King of England.‡ But although few of the earls had joined him, the lesser barons and gentry repaired in great numbers to the banner of the governor, and willingly supported him with all their forces.

The general revolt of the Scots, and that rapid success with which it was attended, determined the English Regency to summon a parliament at London, on the 10th of October.§ To this assembly came the Earl of Norfolk and the Earl of Hereford, the one Marshal and the other Constable of England, with so powerful a body of their retainers, that they overawed

* He appointed an officer or sergeant over every four men, another of higher power over every nine, another of still higher authority over every nineteen men, and thus, in an ascending scale of disciplined authority, up to the officer, or chiliarch, who commanded a thousand men. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 171.

† Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 170.

‡ “Et si quis de magnatibus gratis suis non obediret mandatis, hunc tenuit et coercuit, et custodiæ mancipavit, donec suis bene placitis penitus obtemperaret.” Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 170.

§ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 138.

its proceedings; and aware of the trying emergency in which the rebellion of the Scots had placed the king, they declared, that no aids or levies should be granted against the Scots, unless the Great Charter, and the Charter of the Forests, were ratified, along with an additional clause, which prohibited any aid or tallage from being exacted, without the consent of the prelates, nobles, knights, and other freemen. Edward was startled when informed of these demands. His affairs detained him in Flanders, where accounts had reached him of the whole of Scotland having been wrested from his hand by Wallace; he was still engaged in a war with France; and, thus surrounded by difficulties, it was absolutely necessary for him to make every sacrifice to remain on good terms with his barons.* He accordingly, after three days' deliberation, consented to confirm all the charters which had been sent over to him; and having wisely secured the affections of his nobility, he directed letters to the earls and barons of England, commanding them, as they valued his honour, and that of the whole kingdom, to meet at York on the 14th January, and thence, under the orders of the Earl of Surrey, to proceed into Scotland, and put down the rebellion of that nation.† At the same time he sent letters to the great men of Scotland, requiring them on their fealty to attend the muster at York, and denouncing them as public enemies if they refused.

These seasonable favours granted to the nobility, and the good grace with which Edward bestowed them, although, in truth, they were extorted from him much

* Tyrrel, *Hist. Eng.* vol. iii. p. 124. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 138. Trivetii *Annales*, p. 309.

† The confirmation of *Magna Charta* and the *Charta de Foresta*, is dated at Ghent, Nov. 5, 1297. Rymer, new edit. vol. i. part ii. p. 880.

against his inclination, rendered the king highly popular; so that at York, on the day appointed, there was a great muster of the military force of the kingdom. There came the Earl Marshal and the Great Constable of England, the Earl of Surrey the king's lieutenant against the Scots, the Earls of Gloucester and Arundel, Lord Henry Percy, John de Wake, John de Segrave, Guido son of the Earl of Warwick, and many other powerful earls and barons.* Having waited in vain for the Scottish nobles whom Edward had summoned to attend—an order which, as the result showed, the dread of Wallace rather than the love of their country compelled them to disobey—the English nobles appointed a general muster of their forces to be held eight days after, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, purposing from thence to march against the enemy. Here they accordingly met, and the army, both in numbers and equipment, was truly formidable. There were two thousand heavy cavalry, armed both horse and man at all points, along with two thousand light horse, and a hundred thousand foot, including the Welsh. With this force they marched across the border, and advanced to Roxburgh. This important fortress was then invested by Wallace; and the garrison, worn out by a long siege, were in a state of great distress, when the army of Surrey made its appearance, and the Scots thought it prudent to retire. After relieving “their wounded countrymen,” the English skirmished as far as Kelso, and returned to occupy Berwick, which had been in the hands of the Scots since the battle of Stirling. They found it deserted, and brought a joyful relief to the castle, the garrison of which had stoutly

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 144.

held out, whilst the rest of the town was in possession of the enemy.*

Edward, in the meantime, having learnt in Flanders the strength of the army which awaited his orders, was restless and impatient till he had joined them in person. His anger against the Scots, and his determination to inflict a signal vengeance upon their perfidy on again daring to defend their liberties, had induced him to make every sacrifice, that he might proceed with an overwhelming force against this country. For this purpose, he hastened to conclude a truce with the King of France, and to refer their disputes to the judgment of Boniface the pope.† He wrote to the Earl of Surrey not to march into Scotland till he had joined the army in person; and having rapidly concluded his affairs in Flanders, he took shipping, and landed at Sandwich, where he was received with much rejoicing and acclamation.‡ Surrey, on receiving letters from the king to delay his expedition, had retained with him a small proportion of his troops and dismissed the rest; but the moment Edward set his foot in England, he directed his writs, by which he summoned the whole military power of the kingdom to meet him at York, on the Feast of Pentecost, with horse and arms, to proceed against the Scots.§ He also commanded all the earls and barons, with two knights of every shire, and the representatives from the towns and burghs, to attend his parliament to be held in that city; and summoned the nobility of Scot-

* Knighton, 2525. Trivetii Annales, p. 311.

† Rymer's Fœdera, new edit. vol. i. part ii. p. 887. ‡ Ibid. p. 889.

§ Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 129. Rymer, vol. i. part ii. p. 890. Palgrave's Parliamentary Writs, Chron. Abstract, p. 38. The names of the leaders to whom writs are directed, occupy the whole Rotulus Scotiæ 26 and 27 Edward First. They are a hundred and fifty-four in number.

land, unless they chose to be treated as vassals who had renounced their allegiance, to be there also on the day appointed.* To this summons they paid no regard. Those who had accompanied him in his expedition to Flanders, on his embarkation for England, forsook him, and resorted to the French king; and the rest of the Scottish barons, although jealous of Wallace, dreaded the vengeance which his power and high authority as governor entitled him to inflict on them. Meanwhile Edward, having commanded his army to rendezvous at Roxburgh on the 24th of June, with misplaced devotion, made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St John of Beverley. The sacred standard of this saint, held in deep reverence by the king and the army, had been carried with the host in the former war; and it is probable Edward would not lose the opportunity of taking it along with him in this expedition.

On coming to Roxburgh, he found himself at the head of an army more formidable in their number, and more splendid in their equipment, than even that which had been collected by the Earl of Surrey six months before. He had seven thousand horse, three thousand heavy-armed, both men and horse, and four thousand light cavalry. His infantry consisted at first of eighty thousand men, mostly Welsh and Irish; but these were soon strengthened by the arrival of a powerful reinforcement from Gascony, amongst whom were five hundred horse, splendidly armed, and admirably mounted. On reviewing his troops, Edward found that the Constable and Marshal, with the barons of their party, refused to advance a step until the

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 158.

confirmation of the Great Charter, and the Charter of the Forests, had been ratified by the king in person : so jealous were they of their new rights, and so suspicious lest he should plead, that his former consent, given when in foreign parts, did not bind him within his own dominions.* Edward dissembled his resentment, and evaded their demand, by bringing forward the Bishop of Durham, and the Earls of Surrey, Norfolk, and Lincoln, who solemnly swore, on the soul of their lord the king, that on his return, if he obtained the victory, he would accede to their request.† Compelled to rest satisfied with this wary promise, which he afterwards tried in every way to elude, the refractory barons consented to advance into Scotland.

Meanwhile that country, notwithstanding the late expulsion of its enemies, was little able to contend with the superior numbers and discipline of the army now led against it. It was cruelly weakened by the continued dissensions and jealousy of its nobility. Ever since the elevation of Wallace to the rank of Governor of Scotland, the greater barons had envied his assumption of power ; and, looking upon him as a person of ignoble birth, had seized all opportunities to despise and resist his authority.‡ These selfish jealousies were increased by the terror of Edward's military renown, and in many by the fear of losing their English estates ; so that at the very time when an honest love of liberty, and a simultaneous spirit of resistance, could alone have saved Scotland, its nobility deserted their country, and refused to act with the only man whose

* Hemingford, p. 159.

† “ Quod in reditu,” *suo, obtenta victoria*, “ omnia perimpleret ad votum.” Hemingford, p. 159.

‡ “ Licet apud comites regni et proceres ignobilis putaretur.” Fordun a Hearne, p. 978. See also Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 174.

success and military talents were equal to the emergency. The governor, however, still endeavoured to collect the strength of the land. John Comyn of Badenoch, the younger, Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, Sir John Graham of Abercorn, and Macduff the grand-uncle of the Earl of Fife, consented to act along with him; whilst Robert Bruce, maintaining a suspicious neutrality, remained with a strong body of his vassals in the castle of Ayr.

The plan adopted by Wallace for the defence of Scotland, was the same as that which was afterwards so successfully executed by Bruce. It was to avoid a general battle, which, with an army far inferior to the English, must have been fought at a disadvantage; to fall back slowly before the enemy, leaving some garrisons in the most important castles, driving off all supplies, wasting the country through which the English were to march, and waiting till the scarcity of provisions compelled them to retreat, and give him a favourable opportunity of breaking down upon them with full effect. Edward had determined to penetrate into the west of Scotland, and there he purposed to conclude the war. He directed a fleet with supplies for his army, to sail round from Berwick to the Firth of Forth; and having left Roxburgh, he proceeded by moderate marches into Scotland, laying waste the country, and anxious for a sight of his enemies. No one, however, was to be found, who could give him information regarding the Scottish army; and he proceeded through Berwickshire to Lauder,* and without a check to Templeliston, now Kirkliston, a small town between Edinburgh and Linlithgow. Here, as provisions began already to be scarce, he determined to

* Prynne, Edward I., p. 788.

remain, in order to receive the earliest intelligence of his fleet; and, in case of accidents, to secure his retreat. At this time he learnt that frequent attacks were made against the foraging parties of his rear division, by the Scottish garrison in the strong castle of Dirleton: and that two other fortalices, which he had passed on his march, were likely to give him annoyance.* Upon this he despatched his favourite martial bishop, Anthony Beck, who sat down before the castle; but, on account of the want of proper battering machines, found it too strong for him. He then attempted to carry it by assault, but was driven back with loss; and as his division began to be in extreme want, the bishop sent Sir John Marmaduke to require the king's pleasure. "Go back," said Edward, "and tell Anthony that he is right to be pacific, when he is acting the bishop, but that in his present business he must forget his calling. As for you," continued the king, addressing Marmaduke, "you are a relentless soldier, and I have often had to reprove you for too cruel an exultation over the death of your enemies; but return now whence you came, and be as relentless as you choose. You will have my thanks, not my censure; and look you, do not see my face again, till these three castles are razed to the ground."†

In the meantime, the besiegers were relieved from the extremities of want, by the arrival of three ships with provisions; and the bishop, on receiving the king's message, took advantage of the renewed strength and spirits of his soldiers, to order an assault, which was successful; the garrison having stipulated, before surrender, that their lives should be spared.‡ Edward,

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 160.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 161. Walsingham, p. 75.

when at Kirkliston, had raised some of the young squires in his army to the rank of knighthood; and these new knights were sent to gain their spurs, by taking the other two fortalices. On coming before them, however, they found that the Scots had abandoned them to the enemy; and having destroyed them, they rejoined the main army.*

These transactions occupied a month, and the army began again to suffer severely from the scarcity of provisions. The fleet from Berwick was anxiously looked for, and Edward foresaw, that in the event of its arrival being protracted a few days longer, he should be compelled to retreat. At last a few ships were seen off the coast, which brought a small supply; but the great body of the fleet was still detained by contrary winds, and a dangerous mutiny broke out in the camp. The Welsh troops had suffered much from famine; and a present of wine having been sent to them by the king, their soldiers, in a paroxysm of intoxication and national antipathy, attacked the English quarters in the night, and inhumanly murdered eighteen priests. Upon this the English cavalry hastily ran to their weapons, and breaking in upon the Welsh, slew eighty men. In the morning the Welsh, of whom there were forty thousand in the army, exasperated at the death of their companions, threatened to join the Scots. "Let them do so," said Edward, with his usual cool courage; "let them go over to my enemies: I hope soon to see the day when I shall chastise them both." This day, however, was, to all appearance, distant. The distress for provisions now amounted to an absolute famine. No intelligence had been received of the Scottish army. As the English advanced, the country had been wasted

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 161.

by an invisible foe ; and Edward, wearied out, was at length compelled to issue orders for a retreat to Edinburgh, hoping to meet with his fleet at Leith, and thereafter to recommence operations against the enemy.

At this critical juncture, when the military skill and wisdom of the dispositions made by Wallace became apparent, and when the moment to harass and destroy the invading army in its retreat had arrived ; the treachery of her nobles again betrayed Scotland. Two Scottish lords, Patrick earl of Dunbar, and the Earl of Angus, privately, at day-break, sought the quarters of the Bishop of Durham, and informed him that the Scots were encamped not far off in the forest of Falkirk. The Scottish earls, who dreaded the resentment of Edward, on account of their late renunciation of allegiance,* did not venture to seek the king in person. They sent their intelligence by a page, and added, that having heard of his projected retreat, it was the intention of Wallace to surprise him by a night attack, and to hang upon and harass his rear. Edward, on hearing this welcome news, could not conceal his joy. " Thanks be to God," he exclaimed, " who hitherto hath extricated me from every danger ! They shall not need to follow me, since I shall forthwith go and meet them." Without a moment's delay, orders were issued for the soldiers to arm, and hold themselves ready to march. The king was the first to put on his armour ; and, mounting his horse, rode through the camp, hastening the preparations, and

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 162. Lord Hailes has omitted to notice the fact, that the intelligence regarding the position of the army was brought by two Scottish earls. It is difficult to understand how he should have overlooked it, as he quotes the very page of Hemingford where it is stated. He has attempted to disprove what appears to me completely established by the authority of Hemingford, " that the defeat at Falkirk was brought about by the dissensions amongst the Scottish leaders."

giving orders in person, to the merchants and sutlers who attended the army to pack up their wares, and be ready to follow him. At length all was prepared, and at three o'clock the whole army was on its advance from Kirkliston to Falkirk, astonished at the sudden change in the plan of operations, and at the slow and deliberate pace with which they were led on. It was late before they reached a heath near Linlithgow, on which they encamped for the night. They were not allowed the refreshment of disarming themselves; but, to use the striking words of Hemingford, "each soldier slept on the ground, using his shield for his pillow; each horseman had his horse beside him, and the horses themselves tasted nothing but cold iron, champing their bridles." In the middle of the night a cry was heard. King Edward, who slept on the heath, whilst a page held his horse, was awakened by a sudden stroke on his side. The boy had been careless, and the horse, in changing his position, had put his foot on the king as he slept. Those around him cried out that their prince was wounded; and this, in the confusion of the night, was soon raised into a shout that the enemy were upon them, so that they hastily armed themselves, and prepared for their defence. But the mistake was soon explained. Edward had been only slightly hurt; and as the morning was near, he mounted his horse, and gave orders to march. They passed through Linlithgow a little before sunrise; and on looking up to a rising ground, at some distance in their front, observed the ridge of the hill lined with lances. Not a moment was lost. Their columns marched up the hill, but on reaching it, the enemy had disappeared; and as it was the feast of St Mary Magdalene, the king ordered a tent to be raised, where he and the

Bishop of Durham heard mass. These lances had been the advanced guard of the enemy; for while mass was saying, and the day became brighter, the English soldiers could distinctly see the Scots in the distance arranging their lines, and preparing for battle.

The Scottish army did not amount to the third part of the force of the English; and Wallace, who dreaded this great disparity, and knew how much Edward was likely to suffer by the protraction of the war and the want of provisions, at first thought of a retreat, and hastened to lead off his soldiers; but he soon found that the English were too near to admit of this being accomplished without certain destruction; and he therefore proceeded to draw up his army, so as best to avail himself of the nature of the ground, and to sustain the attack of the English. He divided his infantry into four compact divisions, called *Schiltrons*,* composed of his lancers. In the first line the men knelt, with their lances turned obliquely outwards, so as to present a serried front to the enemy on every side. In this infantry consisted the chief strength of the Scottish army, for the soldiers stood so close, and were so linked or chained together, that to break the line was extremely difficult.† In the spaces between these divisions were placed the archers, and in the rear was drawn up the Scottish cavalry, consisting of about a thousand heavy-armed horse.‡

After hearing mass, the King of England, being

* See Notes and Illustrations, letter I.

† “Ther formost courey ther bakkis togidere sette,
There speres poynt over poynt, so sare, and so thikke
And fast togidere joynt, to se it was werlike,
Als a castelle thei stode, that were walled with stone,
Thei wende no man of blode thorgh tham suld haf gone.”

Langtoft's Chronicle, book ii. l. 304, 305.

‡ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 163.

informed of the Scottish disposition of battle, hesitated to lead his army forward to the attack, and proposed that they should pitch their tents, and allow the soldiers and the horses time for rest and refreshment. This was opposed by his officers as unsafe, on account of there being nothing but a small rivulet between the two armies. "What then would you advise?" asked Edward. "An immediate advance," said they; "the field and the victory will be ours."—"In God's name, then, let it be so," replied the king; and without delay, the barons who commanded the first division, the Marshal of England, and the Earls of Hereford and Lincoln, led their soldiers in a direct line against the enemy. They were not aware, however, of an extensive moss which stretched along the front of the Scottish position, and on reaching it, were obliged to make a circuit to the west to get rid of the obstacle. This retarded their attack; meanwhile the second line, under the command of the Bishop of Durham, being better informed of the nature of the ground, in advancing inclined to the east with the same object. The bishop's cavalry were fiery and impetuous. Thirty-six banners floated above the mass of spears, and showed how many leaders of distinction were in the field; but Anthony Beck, who had seen enough of war to know the danger of too precipitate an attack, commanded them to hold back, till the third line, under the king, came up to support them. "Stick to thy mass, bishop," cried Ralph Basset of Drayton, "and teach not us what we ought to do in the face of an enemy,"—"On then," replied the bishop—"set on in your own way. We are all soldiers to-day, and bound to do our duty." So saying, they hastened forward, and in a few minutes engaged with the first column of the Scots: whilst the

first line, which had extricated itself from the morass, commenced its attack upon the other flank. Wallace's anxiety to avoid a battle had, in all probability arisen from his having little dependence on the fidelity of the heavy-armed cavalry, commanded by those nobles who hated and feared him; and the event showed how just were his suspicions: for the moment the lines met, the whole body of the Scottish horse shamelessly retired without striking a blow.*

The columns of infantry, however, with the intermediate companies of archers, kept their ground, and a few of the armed knights remained beside them. Amongst these, Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, in marshalling the ranks of the archers from the forest of Selkirk, was thrown from his horse. The faithful bowmen tried to rescue him, but in vain. He was slain, and the tall and athletic figures of those who fell round him drew forth the praise of the enemy.† On the death of this leader, the archers gave way; but the columns of the Scottish infantry stood firm, and their oblique lances, pointing every way, presented a thick wood, through which no attacks of the cavalry could penetrate. Edward now brought up his reserve of archers and slingers, who showered their arrows upon them, with volleys of large round stones, which covered the ground where they stood. This continued and galling attack, along with the reiterated charges of the cavalry, at last broke the first line, and the heavy-armed horse, pouring in at the gap which was

* Fordun a Hearne, p. 981. "Nam propter conceptam maliciam, ex fonte invidiæ generatam, quam erga dictum Willelmum Cuminenses habebant, cum suis complicitibus campum deserentes, illæsi evaserunt." See also Hemingford, p. 164—"Fugerunt Scottorum equestres absque ullo gladii ictu."—And Winton, vol. ii. p. 101, book viii. chap. 15, l. 47. Also Chron. de Lanercost, p. 191.

† Hemingford, vol. i. p. 165.

thus made, threw all into confusion, and carried indiscriminate slaughter through their ranks. Macduff, along with his vassals from Fife, was slain;* and Wallace, with the remains of his army, having gained the neighbouring wood, made good his retreat, leaving nearly fifteen thousand men dead upon the field.† On the English side, only two men of note fell; one of them was Sir Bryan de Jaye, Master of the Scottish Templars, who, when pressing before his men in the ardour of the pursuit, was entangled in a moss in Calendar wood, and slain by some of the Scottish fugitives. The other was a companion of the same order, and of high rank.‡

The remains of the Scottish army immediately retreated from Falkirk to Stirling. Unable to maintain the town against the English army, they set it on fire; and Edward, on entering it on the fourth day after the battle, found it reduced to ashes.§ The convent of the Dominicans, however, escaped the flames; and here the king, who still suffered from the wound given him by his horse, remained for fifteen days, to recover his health. Meantime he sent a division of his army across the Forth into Clackmannanshire and Menteith, which, after ravaging the country, and plundering the villages, advanced in its destructive march through Fife. The whole of this rich and populous district was now regarded with great severity, on account of the resistance made by Macduff and the men of Fife at Falkirk. It was accordingly delivered up to com-

* Winton, vol. ii. p. 101, book viii. chap. 15, l. 45.

† Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 130, who quotes, as his authority, the *Norwich Chronicle* and the *Chronicle of John Eversden*—both English authorities. The older Scottish historians, Fordun and Winton, make no mention of the loss of the Scots.

‡ Notes and Illustrations, letter K.

§ Pryne, *Edward I.*, p. 791. Edward was at Stirling, 26th July.

plete military execution; and, to use the words of an ancient chronicle, "clene brent."* The city of St Andrews was found deserted by its inhabitants, and delivered to the flames. Beginning to be in distress for provisions, the English pushed on to Perth, which they found already burnt by the Scots themselves; so that, defeated in the hope of procuring supplies, and unable longer to support themselves in a country so utterly laid waste, they returned to Stirling, the castle of which Edward had commanded to be repaired. Having left a garrison there, he proceeded to Abercorn,† near Queensferry, where he had hopes to find his long-expected fleet, with supplies from Berwick; but his ships were still detained. He then marched to Glasgow, and through the district of Clydesdale, by Bothwell, to Lanark, from which he proceeded towards the strong castle of Ayr, then in the hands of the younger Bruce earl of Carrick. Bruce fled at the approach of the king, after having set fire to the castle; and Edward marched into Galloway with the intention of punishing this refractory baron, by laying waste his country.‡ The army however, began again to be grievously in want of provisions; and the king, after having for fifteen days struggled against famine, was constrained to return through the middle of Annandale, and to be contented with the capture of Bruce's castle of Lochmaben,§ from which he proceeded to Carlisle. Thus were the fruits of the bloody and decisive battle of Falkirk plucked from the hands of

* Hardyng's Chronicle, 8vo, London, 1543, p. 165. See Notes and Illustrations, letter L.

† Trivet, p. 313, calls this place "Abourtoun juxta Queenesferrie;" and Hearne, the editor, in a note, observes it may mean Aberdour. Prynne, Edward I., p. 791, quotes a letter of presentation by Edward, of John Boush of London, to the vacant church of Kinkell, dated at Abercorn, Aug. 15, 1298.

‡ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 166.

§ Ibid.

Edward, by famine and distress, at the moment he expected to secure them; and after leading against Scotland the most numerous and best appointed army which had perhaps ever invaded it, and defeating his enemies with great slaughter, he was compelled to retreat while still nearly the whole of the country beyond the Forth was unsubdued, and even when that part which he had wasted and overrun, was only waiting for his absence, to rise into a new revolt against him.* At Carlisle the Earls of Norfolk and Hereford left the army to return home, under the pretence that their men and horses were worn out with the expedition, but in reality because they were incensed at the king for a breach of faith. Edward, when at Lochmaben, had, without consulting them or their brother nobles, disposed of the Island of Arran to Thomas Bisset, a Scottish adventurer, who, having invaded and seized it, about the time of the battle of Falkirk, pretended that he had undertaken the enterprise for the King of England. This was done in violation of a solemn promise, that, without advice of his council, he would adopt no new measures; and to atone for so irregular a proceeding, a parliament was held at Carlisle, in which the king, who as yet was master of but a very small part of Scotland, assigned to his earls and barons the estates of the Scottish nobles. These, however, as an old historian remarks, were grants given in hope, not in possession; and even the frail

* Lord Hailes, 4to edit. vol. i. p. 263, ascribes the successes of Edward in this campaign, to the precipitancy of the Scots. Yet the Scots were any thing but precipitate. They wasted the country, and purposely retired from Edward; nor did they fight, till the Earl of Dunbar and the Earl of Angus treacherously brought information where the Scottish army lay, and enabled Edward, by a rapid night-march, to surprise them. Edward owed his success to the fatal dissensions amongst the Scots, and to the superior numbers and equipment of his army.

tenure of hope by which they were held, was soon threatened: for on reaching Durham, messengers arrived with the intelligence that the Scots were again in arms, and the king hastily returned to Tynemouth, and from thence to Coldingham, near Beverley. His army was now much reduced by the desertion of Norfolk and Hereford; and the soldiers who remained were weakened with famine and the fatigues of war. To commence another campaign at this late season was impossible; but he instantly issued his writs for the assembling of a new army, to chastise, as he said, the obstinate and reiterated rebellions of the Scots; and he appointed his barons to meet him at Carlisle, on the eve of the day of Pentecost.* He also commanded the speedy collection of the money granted by the clergy of the province of York, to assist him in his war with Scotland; and despatched letters to the nobles of England, ordering their attendance in the army destined against Scotland. Patrick earl of Dunbar and March, and his son Gilbert de Umfraville earl of Angus, Alexander de Baliol, and Simon Fraser, all of them Scottish barons, were at this time friends to Edward, and resident at his court, and to them were the same commands directed.†

Wallace, soon after the defeat of Falkirk, voluntarily resigned the office of Governor of Scotland. The Comyns had threatened to impeach him of treason for his conduct during the war; and the Bruces, next in

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 166. "Juxta octavas beatæ virginis." 8th Sept. The king was at Carlisle till the 12th Sept. Prynne, Edward I., p. 789. Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 131, on the authority of the Chron. Abingdon, p. 171, says the Parliament was held at Durham. Rymer, Fœdera, new edit. part ii. p. 899. Prynne's Edward I., p. 789. The day of assembling was afterwards prorogated to the 2d of August. Rymer, new edit. part ii. 908.

† Madox's Hist. of Exchequer, chap. xvi. § 5, p. 445. Ex. Rotul. de adventu vicecomitum.

power to the Comyns, appear to have forgot their personal animosity, and united with their rivals to put him down. To these accusations the disaster at Falkirk gave some colour, and he chose rather to return to the station of a private knight, than to retain an elevation, which, owing to the jealousy of the nobility, brought ruin and distress upon the people.* One ancient manuscript of Fordun† asserts, that he passed over into France, where he was honourably welcomed and entertained by Philip, and increased his high character for personal prowess, by his successes against the pirates who then infested the seas; so that his exploits were celebrated in the French songs and ballads of the day. An examination of the valuable historical materials which exist in the public libraries of France, might perhaps throw some light on this dark portion of his story. It is certain that his great name does not again recur in any authentic record, as bearing even a secondary command in the wars against Edward; nor indeed do we meet with him in any public transaction, until eight years after this, when he fell a victim to the unrelenting vengeance of that prince.

On the demission of Wallace, the Scottish barons chose John Comyn of Badenoch, the younger, and John de Soulis, to be governors of Scotland,‡ and after some time, Bruce earl of Carrick, and William Lamberton bishop of St Andrews, were associated in the command.§

* "Eligens magis subesse cum plebe quam cum ejus ruina et gravi populi præesse dispendio, non diu post bellum variæ capellæ apud aquam de Forth officium custodis et curam quam gerebat sponte resignavit." Fordun a Hearne, p. 982. Winton, book viii. chap. xv. vol. ii. p. 102. Lord Hailes has omitted to notice this important fact, so positively stated by Fordun and Winton.

† Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 176.

‡ Fordun a Hearne, p. 982. Winton, book vii. chap. xv. vol. ii. p. 103.

§ Rymer, Fœdera, p. 915, new edit. part ii. The first notice of Robert Bruce and Bishop Lamberton, as Guardians of Scotland, is on Nov. 13, 1299.

It is now necessary to allude to an attempt at a pacification between Edward and the Scots, which some time previous to this had been made by Philip of France; as the negotiations which then took place conduct us to the termination of Baliol's career, and throw a strong light on the character of the King of England.

John Baliol, whom the Scots still acknowledged as their rightful monarch, had remained a prisoner in England since 1296. On the conclusion of a truce between the Kings of France and England in 1297,* the articles of which afterwards formed the basis of the negotiations at Montreuil,† and of the important peace of Paris.‡ Philip demanded the liberation of Baliol, as his ally, from the tower. He required, also, that the prelates, barons, knights, and other nobles, along with the towns and communities, and all the inhabitants of Scotland, of what rank and condition soever, should be included in the truce, and that not only Baliol, but all the other Scottish prisoners, should be liberated, on the delivery of hostages. These demands were made by special messengers, sent for this purpose by Philip to the King of England;§ and it is probable that John Comyn the younger, the Earl of Athole, and other Scottish barons, who had left Edward on his embarkation at Hardenburgh in Flanders,|| and repaired to the Court of France, prevailed upon Philip to be thus urgent in his endeavours to include them and their country in the articles of pacification. Edward, however, had not the slightest intention of allowing the truce to be extended to the Scots. He was

* Rymer, p. 378, new edit. part ii. Oct. 9, 1297.

† Ibid. p. 906, June 19, 1299. ‡ Ibid. p. 952, May 20, 1302.

§ Trivet, p. 311. Rymer, *Fœdera*, new edit. part ii. 361.

|| Walsingham, p. 75. Trivet, p. 311.

highly exasperated against them, and was then busy in collecting and organizing an army for the purpose of reducing their country. He did not, at first, however, give a direct refusal, but observed, that the request touching the king, the realm, and nobles of Scotland, was so new and foreign to the other articles of truce, that it would require his most serious deliberation before he could reply.* Immediately after this, he marched, as we have seen, at the head of an overwhelming army into Scotland; and, after the battle of Falkirk, found leisure to send his answer to Philip, refusing peremptorily to deliver up Baliol, or to include the Scottish nobles in the truce, on the ground, that at the time when the articles of truce were drawn up, Philip did not consider the Scots as his allies, nor was there any mention of Baliol or his subjects at that time.† “If,” said Edward, “any alliance ever existed between Baliol and the French king, it had been deliberately and freely renounced.” To this Philip replied, “That as far as the King of Scots, and the other Scottish nobles who were Edward’s prisoners, were concerned, the renunciation of the French alliance had been made through the influence of force and fear, on which account it ought to be considered of no avail; that it was they alone whom he considered as included in the truce; and if any Scottish nobles had afterwards, of their own free will, submitted to Edward, and sworn homage to him, as had been done by Patrick earl of Dunbar, Gilbert earl of Angus, and their sons, the King of France would not interfere in that matter.”‡

* Rymer, *Fœd.* new edit. part ii. April 1298.

† *Ibid.* p. 898.

‡ The important public instrument from which these facts regarding the negotiations between Edward and Philip are taken, has been printed, for

Edward, however, who, at the time he made this reply, had defeated Wallace at Falkirk, and dispersed the only army which stood between him and his ambition, continued firm, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of Philip. The mediation of the pope was next employed; and at the earnest request of Boniface, the king consented to deliver Baliol from his imprisonment, and to place him in the hands of the papal legate, the Bishop of Vicenza. "I will send him to the pope," said Edward, "as a false seducer of the people, and a perjured man."* Accordingly, Sir Robert Burghersh, the Constable of Dover, conveyed the dethroned king, with his goods and private property, to Whitsand, near Calais. Before embarking, his trunks were searched, and a crown of gold, the Great Seal of Scotland, many vessels of gold and silver, with a considerable sum of money, were found in them. The crown was seized by Edward, and hung up in the shrine of St Thomas the Martyr, the Great Seal was also retained, but the money was permitted to remain in his coffers. On meeting the legate at Whitsand, Burghersh formally delivered to this prelate the person of the ex-king, to be at the sole disposal of his Holiness; but a material condition was added, in the proviso "that the pope should not ordain or direct anything in the kingdom of Scotland concerning the people or inhabitants, or anything appertaining to the same kingdom, in behalf of John Baliol or his heirs." Edward's obsequiousness to the Roman See even went farther, for he conferred on the pope the power of disposing of Baliol's English estates.

the first time, in the new edition of Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. part ii. p. 898. See also Du Chesne, *Hist.* p. 600.

* Walsingham, pp. 76, 77. Prynne's *Edward I.*, pp. 797, 798. *Trivet*, p. 315.

These estates were many and extensive. They were situated in nine different counties, and gave a commanding feudal influence to their possessor. But the king had not the slightest intention of paying anything more than an empty compliment to Boniface; for he retained the whole of Baliol's lands and manors in his own hand, and, some years afterwards, bestowed them upon his nephew, John of Bretagne.*

The dethroned King of Scotland was conveyed by the messengers of the pope to his lands and castle of Bailleul, in France, where he passed the remaining years of his life in quiet obscurity.†

The restless activity of Edward's mind, and the unshaken determination with which he pursued the objects of his ambition, are strikingly marked by his conduct at this time. He was embroiled in serious disputes with his barons; some of the most valuable prerogatives of his crown were being wrested from his hands; he was deeply engaged with his negotiations with France; he was on the eve of his marriage; but nothing could divert him from the meditated war. He held a council of his nobility at Westminster, concerning the Scottish expedition. At midsummer he took a journey to St Albans, for the purpose of exploring the assistance of that saint.‡ In September he was married at Canterbury, to the sister of the King of France; and on the seventh day after his marriage, he directed his letters to Edmund earl of Cornwall, to meet him with horse and arms at York, on the 10th of November.§ He commanded public

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 1029. The grant to John of Bretagne was made on Nov. 10, 1306.

† Walsingham, p. 77. See Notes and Illustrations, letter M.

‡ *Chronicon S^ti Albani*, quoted in Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 134.

§ Rymer, *Fœd.* vol. i. part ii. p. 913, new edition. Palgrave's *Parliamentary Writs*, p. 42, *Chron. Abstract.*

prayers to be made for the success of his arms in all the churches of the kingdom, and enjoined the Friars Predicant to employ themselves in the same pious office.

Aware of these great preparations, the Scottish Regents, whose army was encamped in the Torwood, near Stirling, directed a letter to Edward, acquainting him that information of the late truce had been sent them by Philip king of France; and that they were willing to desist from all aggression, during the period which was stipulated, provided the King of England would follow their example.* Edward did not deign to reply to this communication; but having assembled his parliament at York, in the beginning of November, he communicated to them his intentions as to the continuance of the war; and in the face of the approaching severity of the winter, marched with his army to Berwick-on-Tweed, where he had appointed a body of fifteen thousand foot soldiers, with a large reinforcement from the diocese of York,† and the whole military strength of his greater barons, to meet him. So intent was he on assembling the bravest knights and most hardy soldiers to accompany him, that he forbade, by public proclamation, all tournaments and plays of arms, so long as war lasted between him and his enemies; and interdicted every knight, esquire, or soldier, from attending such exhibitions, or going in search of adventures, without his special permission.‡ The object of the king was to march

* Rymer, vol. i. p. 915, new edition. The date of the letter is, Foresta dell' Torre, 13th Nov. 1299.

† Rymer, Fœd. vol. i. pp. 915, 916, new edition.

‡ Rymer, *ibid.* p. 916, new edition. This is one of the instruments added by the editors to the new edition of this great work. Its terms are, "*Ne quis miles, armiger, vel alius quicunque, sub forisfactura vitæ et membrorum, et omnium que tenet in dicto regno, torneare, bordeare, seu justas facere, aventuras quærere, aut alias ad arma ire presumat, quoquo modo sine nostra licencia speciali.*"

immediately into Scotland, to raise the siege of Stirling, then invested by the regents, and to reduce that great division of Scotland beyond the Firth of Forth, which, along with the powerful district of Galloway, still remained independent. But after all his great preparations, his hopes were cruelly disappointed. His barons, with their military vassals, refused to go farther than Berwick. They alleged that the early severity of the winter, the impassable and marshy ground through which they would be compelled to march, with the scarcity of forage and provisions, rendered any military expedition against Scotland impracticable and desperate.* The nobles, besides this, had other and deeper causes of discontent. The great charter, and the perambulation of the forests, had not been duly observed, according to promise; and without waiting remonstrance, they withdrew to their estates. Edward, in extreme anger, marched forward, with a small force, and seemed determined to risk a battle; but being informed of the strong position of the Scottish army, and of the resolute spirit with which they awaited his advance, the king submitted to the necessity of the case, and retreated to England.† Meanwhile the English, who were beleaguered in Stirling, after making a brave and obstinate defence, had begun to suffer the extremities of famine; upon which the king, finding it impossible to raise the siege, commanded them to capitulate;‡ and the castle was delivered to Sir John de Soulis, one of the regents. The Scots garrisoned it, and committed it to the keeping of Sir William Olifant.

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 170. Trivet, p. 316.

† Langtoft's Chronicle, p. 308.

‡ Math. Westminst. p. 445. He mistakes the date of the surrender, which was 1299, not 1303.

In the course of the following year, Edward, indefatigable in the prosecution of his great object, again invaded Scotland, and found that the enemy, profiting by experience, had adopted that protracted warfare, which was their best security—avoiding a battle, and cutting off his supplies.* Encamping in Annandale, he besieged and took Lochmaben, and afterwards sat down before the castle of Caerlaverock, strongly situated on the coast of the Solway Firth. After some resistance, this castle was likewise taken and garrisoned,† and the king marched into Galloway, where he had an interview with the bishop of that diocese, who, having in vain attempted to mediate a peace, the Earl of Buchan and John Comyn of Badenoch repaired personally to Edward, and had a violent interview with the king. They demanded that Baliol, their lawful king, should be permitted peaceably to reign over them; and that their estates, which had been unjustly bestowed upon his English nobles, should be restored to their lords. Edward treated these propositions, which he considered as coming from rebels, with an unceremonious refusal; and after declaring that they would defend themselves to the uttermost, the king and the Scottish barons parted in wrath.

After this the king marched to Irvine, a seaport town situated on a river of the same name, and remained there encamped for eight days, until provisions were brought up from the ships which lay on the coast.

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. part ii. new edit. p. 920. Walsingham, p. 78, and Chron. I de Eversden apud Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 139.

† See a curious and interesting historical poem, in vol. iv. of *Antiquarian Repertory*, p. 469, published from a MS. in the British Museum: since published with valuable historical and heraldic additions, by Sir Harris Nicolas. The garrison was only sixty strong, yet for some time defied the whole English army.

During this time the Scottish army showed itself on the opposite side of the river; but on being successively attacked by the Earl of Surrey, the Prince of Wales, and the king himself, they rapidly retreated to their morasses and mountains. Through this rough and difficult ground, the heavy-armed English soldiers could not penetrate; and the Welsh, whose familiarity with rocky passes rendered them well fitted for a warfare of this kind, obstinately refused to act. Thus baffled in his attempts at pursuit, Edward stationed his head-quarters at Dumfries, and employed himself in taking possession of the different towns and castles of Galloway, and in receiving the submission of the inhabitants of that district.* Here he remained till the end of October; and having spent five months on an expedition which led to no important success, he was at last compelled, by the approach of winter, to delay till another season all his hopes of the entire subjugation of Scotland. Affecting, therefore, now when it suited his convenience, to be moved by the representations of the plenipotentiaries sent from the King of France, he granted a truce to the Scots, and artfully gave to a measure of necessity the appearance of an act of mercy. Edward, however, cautiously added, that he acceded to the wishes of Philip, out of favour to him as his friend and relative, not as the ally of Scotland; nor would he give his consent to the cessation of arms, until the ambassadors of France agreed to consider it in this light: so careful was he lest any too hasty concession should interrupt his meditated vengeance, when a less refractory army and a

* Rymer, vol. i. new edition, p. 921. Walsingham, p. 78, makes Irvine, Swinam.

milder season should allow him to proceed against his enemies.*

The king was induced, by another important event, to grant this truce to the Scots. This was no less than an extraordinary interposition upon the part of the pope, commanding him, as he revered his sacred authority, to desist from all hostilities; and asserting that the kingdom of Scotland now belonged to the Holy See, and from the most remote antiquity had done so. The arguments by which the Roman church supported this singular claim, were, no doubt, suggested by certain Scottish Commissioners whom Soulis the regent, in a former part of this year, had sent on a mission to Rome, to complain of the grievous injuries inflicted by Edward upon Scotland, and to request the pope's interposition in behalf of their afflicted country.†

Boniface, accordingly, influenced, as is asserted, by Scottish gold,‡ directed an admonitory bull to Edward, and commanded Winchelsea archbishop of Canterbury to deliver it to the king, who was then with his army in the wilds of Galloway. This prelate, with much personal risk, owing to the unlicensed state of the country, and the danger of being seized by the bands of Scottish robbers, who roamed about, thirsting, as he tells us, for the blood of the English, travelled with his suite of clerks and learned dignitaries as far as Kirkcudbright; and having passed the dangerous sands of the Solway with his chariots and horses, found the king encamped near the castle of Caerlaverock, and delivered to him the papal bull.§ Its arguments, as

* Fordun a Hearne, p. 983. Winton, vol. ii. p. 104. Rymer, vol. i. p. 921.

† Fordun a Hearne, p. 983. Winton, vol. ii. p. 105.

‡ Walsingham, quoted in Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 140.

§ Pryne, Hist. Ed. I., p. 882, where there is a curious letter from the archbishop, giving an account of his journey.

far as concerned the right of the King of England to the feudal superiority of Scotland, were sufficiently sound and judicious; but, as was to be expected, the grounds on which he could rest his own claim far less satisfactory. “Your royal highness,” he observed, “may have heard, and we doubt not but the truth is locked in the book of your memory, that of old the kingdom of Scotland did and doth still belong in full right to the Church of Rome, and that neither your ancestors, kings of England, nor yourself, enjoyed over it any feudal superiority. Your father Henry, king of England, of glorious memory, when, in the wars between him and Simon de Montfort, he requested the assistance of Alexander III. king of Scotland, did, by his letters-patent, acknowledge that he received such assistance, not as due to him, but as a special favour. When you yourself requested the presence of the same King Alexander at the solemnity of your coronation, you, in like manner, by your letters-patent, entreated it as a matter of favour and not of right. Moreover, when the King of Scotland did homage to you for his lands in Tynedale and Penrith, he publicly protested that his homage was paid, not for his kingdom of Scotland, but for his lands in England;—that as King of Scotland he was independent, and owed no fealty; which homage, so restricted, you did accordingly receive. Again, when Alexander III. died, leaving as heiress to the crown a grand-daughter in her minority, the wardship of this infant was not conferred upon you, which it would have been had you been lord superior, but was given to certain nobles of the kingdom chosen for that office.” The bull proceeded to notice the projected marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Maiden of Norway; the

acknowledgment of the freedom and independence of Scotland contained in the preliminary negotiations; the confusions which followed the death of the young queen; the fatal choice of Edward as arbiter in the contest for the crown; the express declaration of the King of England to the Scottish nobility, who repaired to his court during the controversy, that he received this attendance as a matter of favour, not as having any right to command it; and, lastly, it asserted, that if, after all this, any innovations had been made upon the ancient rights and liberties of Scotland, with consent of a divided nobility, who wanted their kingly head; or of that person to whom Edward had committed the charge of the kingdom, these ought not in justice to subsist, as having been violently extorted by force and fear.

After such arguments, the pope went on to exhort the king in the name of God, to discharge out of prison and restore to their former liberty all bishops, clerks, and other ecclesiastical persons whom he had incarcerated, and to remove all officers, whom by force and fear he had appointed to govern the nation under him; and he concluded by directing him, if he still pretended any right to the kingdom of Scotland, or to any part thereof, not to omit the sending commissioners to him fully instructed, and that within six months after the receipt of these letters, he being ever ready to do him justice as his beloved son, and inviolably to preserve his right.*

In presenting this dignified and imperious mandate,

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, new edition, vol. i. part ii. p. 907. Knighton, 2529. The date of this monitory bull is 5th July, 1299. The letter of the archbishop describing his journey to Edward, then at or near Caerlaverock, and his delivery of the bull, is dated at Otteford, 8th October, 1300. Prynn, Edward I., p. 883.

the archbishop, in presence of the English nobles and the Prince of Wales, added his own admonitions on the duty of a reverent obedience to so sacred an authority, observing that Jerusalem would not fail to protect her citizens, and to cherish, like Mount Sion, those who trusted in the Lord. Edward, on hearing this, broke into a paroxysm of wrath, and swearing a great oath, cried out—"I will not be silent or at rest, either for Mount Sion or for Jerusalem; but, as long as there is breath in my nostrils, will defend what all the world knows to be my right."* But the papal interference was in those days, even to so powerful a monarch as Edward, no matter of slight importance; and, returning to his calmer mind, he requested the archbishop to retire until he had consulted with his nobility. On Winchelsea's readmission, the king, in a milder and more dignified mood, thus addressed him:—"My Lord Archbishop, you have delivered me, on the part of my superior, and reverend father, the pope, a certain admonition touching the state and realm of Scotland. Since, however, it is the custom of England, that in such matters as relate to the state of that kingdom, advice should be had with all whom they may concern, and since the present business not only affects the state of Scotland, but the rights of England; and since many prelates, earls, barons, and great men, are now absent from my army, without whose advice I am unwilling, finally, to reply to my Holy Father, it is my purpose, as soon as possible, to hold a council with my nobility, and by their joint advice and determination, to transmit an answer to his Holiness by messengers of my own."†

* Walsingham, p. 78.

† Prynne, Edward I., p. 883.

It was particularly dangerous for Edward to quarrel with the pope at this moment; for the peace with France was unconcluded, and Gascony still remained in the hands of the Holy See, which had not yet decided to whom it should rightly belong. The King of England, therefore, assumed the appearance of solemn deliberation in the preparation of his answer. He disbanded his army; he summoned a parliament to meet at Lincoln; he wrote to the chancellors of both universities, commanding them to send to this parliament some of their most learned and expert civilians, to declare their opinion as to the right of the King of England to be Lord Paramount of Scotland; and he gave directions to the abbots, priors, and deans of the religious houses in England, that they should diligently examine the ancient chronicles and archives of their monastery, and collect and transmit to him by some one of their number, not only all matters illustrative of the rights competent to the King of England in the realm of Scotland, but everything which in any way related to that kingdom.*

On the meeting of the parliament at Lincoln, the king, after having conciliated the good-will of his nobility, by the confirmation of the great charters of liberties, and of the forests, the last of which he had evaded till now, ordered the pope's bull to be read to the earls and barons assembled in parliament; and, after great debates amongst the lawyers who were present, the nobility of England directed a spirited letter to the pope, with a hundred and four seals appended to it.† In this epistle, after complimenting the Holy Roman Church upon the judgment and cau-

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, new edit. vol. i. p. 92?

† Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 146.

tion with which she respected and inviolably preserved the rights of every individual, they remarked, that a letter from the Holy See had been shown to them by their lord, King Edward, relating to certain matters touching the state and realm of Scotland, which contained divers wonderful and hitherto unheard-of propositions. It was notorious, they observed, in these parts of the world, that from the very first original of the kingdom of England, the kings thereof, as well in the times of the Britons as of the Saxons, enjoyed the superiority and direct dominion of the kingdom of Scotland, and continued either in actual or in virtual possession of the same through successive ages. They declared, that in temporals, the kingdom of Scotland did never, by any colour of right, belong to the Church of Rome; that it was an ancient fief of the crown and kings of England; and that the kings of Scotland, with their kingdom, had been subject only to the kings of England, and to no other. That with regard to their rights, or other temporalities in that kingdom, the kings of England have never answered, nor ought they to answer, before any ecclesiastical or secular judge, and this on account of the freedom and pre-eminence of their royal dignity, and the custom to this effect observed through all ages. Wherefore, they concluded—"having diligently considered the letters of his Holiness, it is now, and for the future shall be, the unanimous and unshaken resolution of all and every one of us, that our lord the king, concerning his rights in Scotland, or other temporal rights, must in nowise answer judicially before the pope, or submit them to his judgment, or draw them into question by such submission; and that he must not send proxies or commissioners to his Holiness, more especially when

it would manifestly tend to the disinherittance of the crown and royal dignity of England, to the notorious subversion of the state of the kingdom, and to the prejudice of our liberties, customs, and laws, delivered to them by their fathers; which, by their oaths, they were bound to observe and defend, and which, by the help of God, they would maintain with their whole force and power.” And they added, “that they would not permit the king to do, or even to attempt, such strange and unheard-of things, even if he were willing so far to forget his royal rights. Wherefore they reverently and humbly entreated his Holiness to permit the king to possess his rights in peace, without diminution or disturbance.”*

Having in this bold and spirited manner refused to submit his pretended rights in Scotland to the jurisdiction of the See of Rome, the monarch, about two months after the meeting of his parliament at Lincoln, directed a private letter to the pope,† which he expressly declared was not a memorial to a judge, but altogether of a different description, and solely intended to quiet and satisfy the conscience of his Holy Father, and in which, at great length, and by arguments too trifling to require confutation, he explained to him the grounds upon which he rested his claim of superiority, and the reasons for his violent invasion of Scotland.‡

More intent than ever upon the reduction of this country, Edward once more summoned his barons to meet him in arms at Berwick on the day of St John the Baptist, and directed letters to the different sea-

Rymer, vol. ii. p. 875. “Nec etiam permittimus, aut aliquatenus permittemus, sicut nec possumus, nec debemus, præmissa tam insolita, prælibatum dominum nostrum Regem etiam si vellet facere.”

† Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 147. Rymer, vol. i. part ii. new edit. p. 932.

‡ Fordun a Hearne, p. 984.

ports of England and Ireland, for the assembling of a fleet of seventy ships to rendezvous at the same place.* He determined to separate his force into two divisions, and to intrust the command of one to his son, the Prince of Wales. A pilgrimage to the shrine of St Thomas-a-Becket, and other holy places, was undertaken by the king previous to his putting himself at the head of his army; and this being concluded, he passed the borders, and besieged and took the castle of Bonkill in the Merse. The Scots contented themselves with laying waste the country; and aware of the hazard of risking a battle, they attacked the straggling parties of the English, and distressed their cavalry, by carrying off the forage.† The campaign, however, which had been great in its preparations, passed in unaccountable inactivity. An early winter set in with extreme severity, and many of the large war-horses of the English knights died from cold and hunger; but Edward, who knew that the Scots only waited for his absence, to rise into rebellion, determined to pass the winter at Linlithgow. Here, accordingly, he established the head-quarters of his army, sent orders to England for supplies to be forwarded to his troops, employed his warlike leisure in building a castle, and kept his Christmas with his son and his nobles.‡

The treaty of peace between Edward and Philip of France was still unconcluded; and as Philip continued a warm advocate for Baliol and the Scots, Edward, moved by his remonstrances, gave authority to his envoys at the French court to agree to a truce with

* Ryley, p. 483. The summons is dated 12th March, 1301. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 928.

† Chron. Abing. quoted in Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 148. Trivet, pp. 331, 332. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 196. Langtoft, vol. ii. pp. 315, 316.

‡ Fordun a Hearne, p. 984. Palgrave's *Parl. Writs*, Chron. Abstract, vol. i. p. 54.

Scotland.* The envoys, however, were sharply reproved by the king and his nobles, for giving the title of king to Baliol, and permitting, as the basis of the negotiation, the alliance between France and his enemies.† Edward was well aware, that if he admitted this, any conclusion of peace with Philip would preclude him from continuing the war which he had so much at heart; and on ratifying the truce, he subjoined his protestation, that although he agreed to a cessation, he did not recognise John Baliol as the King of Scotland, nor the Scots as the allies of the King of France. Having brought these matters to a close at Linlithgow, the king proceeded to Roxburgh, and from this, by Morpeth and Durham, returned to London.‡

The perseverance and courage of the Scots were ill supported by their allies. Boniface soon deserted them, and with extreme inconsistency, forgetting his former declarations, addressed a letter of admonition to Wishart, the Bishop of Glasgow, commanding him to desist from all opposition to Edward. Wishart had been delivered from an English prison some time before, and, on taking the oath of fealty, had been received into favour; but unable to quench his love of liberty, or perhaps of intrigue, he had recommenced his opposition to the English; and the pope now addressed him as the “prime mover and instigator of all the tumult and dissension which has arisen between his dearest son in Christ, Edward king of England, and

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, new edit. vol. i. pp. 936, 937. Langtoft, p. 316.

† In Prynne, *Edward I.*, p. 876, we find that Edward protested against this truce at Devizes, 30th April, 1302. How are we to reconcile this protestation with the power granted to the English envoys, by an instrument signed at Dunipace, 14th Oct. 1301, Rymer, p. 936? and with the express ratification of the truce in Rymer, *Fœd.* vol. i. new edit. p. 938, signed at Linlithgow, 26th Jan. 1302? The truce was to continue till St Andrew's day, the 30th Nov. 1302.

‡ Rymer, *Fœdera*, new edit. vol. i. p. 936. Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 149.

the Scots.”* At the same time his Holiness addressed a bull to the body of the Scottish bishops, commanding them to be at peace with Edward, and threatening them, in case of disobedience, with a severer remedy.†

Deserted by Boniface, the Scots still looked to Philip for support; and aware that the negotiations for peace between France and England were in the course of being concluded, they sent the Earl of Buchan, James the Steward of Scotland, John Soulis one of the regents,‡ and Ingelram de Umfraville, to watch over their interests at the French court. But Philip, having been defeated in Flanders, became anxious at all risks to conclude a peace with England, and to concentrate his efforts for the reduction of the revolted Flemings.§ Edward, who had hitherto supported the Flemings, entertained the same wish to direct his undivided strength against the Scots, and a mutual sacrifice of allies was the consequence. The English king paved the way for this, by omitting the Earl of Flanders in the enumeration of his allies, in the former truce ratified at Linlithgow; and Philip, in return, not only left out the Scots in the new truce concluded at Amiens, but entirely excluded them in the subsequent and final treaty of peace not long afterwards signed at Paris.|| Previous, however, to the conclusion of this treaty, so fatal to the Scots, the army of Edward experienced a signal defeat near Edinburgh.

John de Segrave had been appointed Governor of Scotland; and Edward, much incensed at the continued resistance of the Scots, who, on the expiration of the

* Rymer, vol. i. new edit. p. 942.

† Ibid.

‡ Maitland, vol. i. p. 461. Rymer, vol. i. new edit. p. 955.

§ Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 152.

|| Rymer, Fœd. new edit. vol. i. p. 946–952.

truce, had recommenced the war with great vigour, directed letters to Ralph Fitz-William, and twenty-six of his principal barons. By these he informed them, that he had received intelligence from Segrave of the success of his enemies, who, after ravaging the country, and burning and seizing his towns and castles, threatened, unless put down with a strong hand, to invade and lay waste England: "For which reason," adds the king, "we request, by the fealty and love which bind you to us, that you will instantly repair to John de Segrave, with your whole assembled power of horse and foot." He then informs them of his resolution to be with his army in Scotland sooner than he at first intended; and that, in the meantime, he had despatched thither Ralph de Manton, his clerk of the wardrobe, who would pay them their allowances, and act as his treasurer as long as they continued on the expedition.*

Segrave marched from Berwick towards Edinburgh, about the beginning of Lent, with an army of twenty thousand men,† chiefly consisting of cavalry, commanded by some of Edward's best leaders. Amongst these were Segrave's brothers,‡ and Robert de Neville, a noble baron, who had been engaged with Edward in his Welsh wars.§ In approaching Roslin, Segrave had separated his army into three divisions; and not meeting with an enemy, each division encamped on its own ground, without having established any communication with the others. The first division was led by

* Rymer, *Fœd.* vol. i. new edit. part ii. p. 947. This document is published for the first time in the new edition of Rymer.

† Winton, vol. ii. p. 111.

‡ Hemingford, p. 197. "Cum Johanne de Segrave et fratribus suis, erant enim milites strenuissimi."

§ Rymer, vol. i. new edit. p. 608. Trivet, p. 336.

Segrave himself; the second probably by Ralph de Manton, called, from his office, Ralph the Cofferer; the third by Neville. Early in the morning of the 24th February, Segrave and his soldiers were slumbering in their tents, in careless security, when a boy rushed in, and called out that the enemy were upon them. The news proved true. Sir John Comyn the governor, and Sir Simon Fraser, hearing of the advance of the English, had collected a force of eight thousand horse, and marching in the night from Biggar to Roslin, surprised the enemy in their encampment. Segrave's division was entirely routed; he himself, after a severe wound, was made prisoner, along with sixteen knights, and thirty esquires; his brother and son were seized in bed, and the Scots had begun to collect the booty, and calculate on the ransom, when the second division of the English army appeared. A cruel but necessary order was given to slay the prisoners; and this having been done, the Scots immediately attacked the enemy, who, after an obstinate defence, were put to flight with much slaughter. The capture of Ralph the Cofferer, a rich booty, and many prisoners, were the fruits of this second attack, which had scarcely concluded, when the third division, led by Sir Robert Neville, was seen in the distance. Worn out by their night-march, and fatigued by two successive attacks, the little army of the Scots thought of an immediate retreat. But this, probably, the proximity of Neville's division rendered impossible; and after again resorting to the same horrid policy of putting to death their prisoners, an obstinate conflict began, which terminated in the death of Neville, and the total defeat of his division.* There occurred in this battle a striking

* See Notes and Illustrations, letter N.

but cruel trait of national animosity. Ralph the Cofferer had been taken prisoner by Sir Simon Fraser ; and this paymaster of Edward, though a priest, like many of the ecclesiastics and bishops of those fierce times, preferred the coat of mail to the surplice. On the order being given to slay the prisoners, Sir Ralph begged his life might be spared, and promised a large ransom. "This laced hauberk is no priestly habit," observed Fraser; "where is thine albe, or thy hood? Often have you robbed us of our lawful wages, and done us grievous harm. It is now our turn to sum up the account, and exact its payment." Saying this, he first struck off the hands of the unhappy priest, and then severed his head with one blow from his body.*

The remains of the English army fled to Edward, in England; and the Scots, after resting from their fatigues, collected and divided their booty, and returned home.†

This persevering bravery of the Scots in defence of their country, was unfortunately united to a credulity which made them the dupes of the policy of Philip. Although not included in the treaty of Amiens, the French monarch had the address to persuade the Scottish deputies then at Paris, that having concluded his own affairs with Edward, he would devote his whole efforts to mediate a peace between them and England; and he entreated them, in the meantime, to remain with him at the French court, until they could carry back to Scotland intelligence of his having completed the negotiation with Edward on behalf of themselves and their countrymen. The object of Philip, in all this, was to prevent the return of the deputies, amongst

* Langtoft, vol. ii. p. 319.

† Winton, vol. ii. p. 117.

whom were some of the most warlike and influential of the Scottish nobles, previous to the expedition which Edward was about to lead against their country. Unsuspicious of any false dealing, they consented to remain; and in the meantime addressed a letter to the governor and nobility of Scotland, in which they exhorted them to be of good courage, and to persevere in vindicating the liberties of their country. "You would greatly rejoice," they say in this letter, "if you were aware what a weight of honour this last conflict with the English has conferred upon you throughout the world.

——Wherefore, we beseech you earnestly, that you continue to be of good courage. And if the King of England consent to a truce, as we firmly expect he will, do you likewise agree to the same, according to the form which the ambassadors of the King of France shall propose by one of our number, who will be sent to you. But if the King of England, like Pharaoh, shall grow hardened, and continue the war, we beseech you, by the mercy of Christ, that you quit yourselves like men, so that by the assistance of God, and your own courage, you may gain the victory."*

To gain the victory, however, over the determined perseverance and overwhelming military strength of the English king, was no easy task. The distress of Scotland, from its exposure to the continued ravages of war, had reached a pitch which the people of the land could endure no longer. They became heart-broken for a time, under a load of misery and suffering, from which they could see no relief but in absolute submission; the governor Comyn, the late guardian Wallace, and the few patriotic nobles who were still

* Rymer, Fœd. vol. i. new edit. p. 955, June 8, 1303.

in the field, found it impossible to keep an army together; and all men felt assured that the entire subjugation of the country was an event which no human power could possibly prevent or delay. If Edward, at this crisis, again resumed the war, it was evident that nothing could oppose him. We may judge, then, of the desolating feelings of this unhappy country, when word was brought that the King of England had once more collected the whole armed force of his dominions, and, leading his army in person, had passed the Border. The recent defeat at Roslin had chafed and inflamed his passions to the utmost; and he declared that it was his determined purpose either to reduce the nation to entire subjection, or to raze the land utterly with fire and sword, and turn it to a desert, fit only for the beasts of the field. In recording the history of this last miserable campaign, the historian has to tell a tale of sullen submission, and pitiless ravage; he has little to do but to follow in dejection the chariot wheels of the conqueror, and to hear them crushing under their iron weight all that was free, and brave, in a devoted country.

Edward separated his army into two divisions. He gave the command of one to his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, who directed his march westward into Scotland,* whilst the king himself, at the head of the second division, proceeded eastward by Morpeth and Roxburgh, and reached the capital without challenge or interruption in the beginning of June, 1303. The whole course of the king, as well as that of the prince, was marked by smoke and devastation, by the plunder of towns and villages, the robbery of granges and

* Hemingford, 205. Langtoft, 321.

garners, the flames of woods, and the destruction of the small tracts of cultivated lands which yet remained. Wherever he turned his arms, the inhabitants submitted to a power which it was impossible for them to resist; and the governor Comyn, Sir Simon Fraser, and the late guardian William Wallace, were driven into the wilds and fastnesses, where they still continued the war by irregular predatory expeditions against the convoys of the English.

From Edinburgh, Edward continued his victorious progress by Linlithgow and Clackmannan to Perth, and afterwards by Dundee and Brechin proceeded to Aberdeen. From this city, pursuing his march northward, he reached Banff, and from thence he pushed on to Kinloss in Moray. Leaving this, he struck into the heart of Moray, and for some time established his quarters at Lochendorb, a castle strongly situated upon an island in a lake.* Here he received the oaths and homage of the northern parts of the kingdom,† and, it is probable, added to the fortifications of the castle. It is curious to find that, after a lapse of near five hundred years, the memory of this great king is still preserved in the tradition of the neighbourhood; and that the peasant, when he points out to the traveller the still massy and noble remains of Lochendorb, mentions the name of Edward I. as connected in some mysterious way with their history.

From this remote strength, the king, penetrating into Aberdeenshire, reached the strong castle of Kildrummie in Garvyach,‡ from whence he retraced his

* See Notes and Illustrations, letter O.

† Fordun a Hearne, p. 989.

‡ He was at Kildrummie on the 8th of October, 1303, and at Dundee on the 20th of the same month. Pryne, 1015, 1017.—See Notes and Illustrations, letter P.

route back to Dundee. Thence, probably by Perth, he marched to Stirling and Cambuskenneth, visited Kinross, and finally proceeded to take up his winter quarters at Dunfermline early in the month of December, where he was joined by his queen.* In this progress, the castle of Brechin shut its gates against him. It was commanded by Sir Thomas Maule, a Scottish knight of great intrepidity; and such was the impregnable nature of the walls, that the battering engines of the king could not, for many days, make the least impression. So confident was Maule of this, that he stood on the ramparts, and, in derision of the English soldiers below, wiped off with a towel the dust and rubbish raised by the stones thrown from the English engines.† At last this brave man was struck down by one of the missiles he affected to despise, and the wound proved mortal. When he lay dying on the ground, some of his soldiers asked him if now they might surrender the castle. Though life was ebbing, the spirit of the soldier indignantly revived at this proposal, and pronouncing maledictions on their cowardice, he expired.‡ The castle immediately opened its gates to the English, after having stood a siege of twenty days.

The English king was chiefly employed at Dunfermline in receiving the submission of those Scottish barons and great men who had not made their peace during his late progress through the kingdom. But he engaged in other occupations little calculated to conciliate the Scots; for when at this place, his soldiers, by orders of their master, with savage barbarity

* Langtoft, p. 322.

† "Stetit ille Thomas cum manutergio et extrusit Cæsuras de Muro in subsannationem et derisum totius exercitus Anglicani." M. West. p. 416.

‡ Liber Garderobæ Edw. I., fol. 15. M. West. p. 446.

destroyed a Benedictine monastery, of such noble dimensions that, an English historian informs us, three kings, with their united retinues, might have lodged within its walls. On account of its ample size, the Scottish nobles had often held their parliaments within its great hall—a sufficient crime, it would appear, in the eyes of the king. The church of the monastery, with a few cells for the monks, were spared; the rest was razed to the ground.

Meanwhile Comyn the governor, along with Sir Simon Fraser, and a few barons, still kept up a show of resistance; and Wallace, who, since his abdication of the supreme power, had continued his determined opposition to Edward, lurked with a small band in the woods and mountains. The castle of Stirling, also, still held out; and as it was certain that the king would besiege it, Comyn, with the faint hope of defending the passage of the Forth, collected as many soldiers as he could muster, and encamped on the ground where Wallace had gained his victory over Cressingham and Surrey. But the days of victory were past. The king, the moment he heard of this, forded the river in person, at the head of his cavalry, and routed and dispersed the last remnant of an army on which the hopes of Scotland depended. He had intended to pass the river by the bridge, but on coming forward he found it had been broken down and burnt by the Scots. Had the leaders profited by the lesson taught them by Wallace, they would have kept up the bridge, and attacked the English when defiling over it; but their rashness in destroying it compelled the king to find a ford, and enabled him to cross in safety.*

Soon after this expiring effort, the governor, with all

* Notes and Illustrations, letter Q.

his adherents, submitted to Edward. The Earls of Pembroke and Ulster, with Sir Henry Percy, met Comyn at Strathorde in Fife,* on the 9th of February; and a negotiation took place, in which the late regent and his followers, after stipulating for the preservation of their lives, liberties, and lands, delivered themselves up, and agreed to the infliction of any pecuniary fine which the conqueror should think right. The castles and strengths of Scotland were to remain in the hands of Edward, and the government of the country to be modelled and administered at his pleasure. From this negotiation those were specially excepted, for whom, as more obstinate in their rebellion, the King of England reserved a more signal punishment. In this honourable roll we find Wishart bishop of Glasgow, James the Steward of Scotland, Sir John Soulis the late associate of Comyn in the government of the kingdom, David de Graham, Alexander de Lindesay, Simon Fraser, Thomas Bois, and William Wallace.† To all these persons, except Wallace, certain terms, more or less rigorous, were held out, on accepting which, Edward guaranteed to them their lives and their liberty; and we know that sooner or later they accepted the conditions. But of this great man a rigorous exclusion was made. “As for William Wallace,” I quote the words of the deed, “it is covenanted, that if he thinks proper to surrender himself, it must be unconditionally to the will and mercy of our lord the king.” Such a surrender, it is well known, gave Edward the unquestionable right of ordering his victim to immediate execution.

An English parliament was soon after appointed to meet at St Andrews, to which the king summoned the

* Strathurd, or Strathord, on the Ord water in Fife, perhaps now Struthers.

† Prynn, *Hist. Edward I.*, pp. 1120, 1121.

Scottish barons who had again come under his allegiance. This summons was obeyed by all except Sir Simon Fraser and Wallace; and these two brave men, along with the garrison of Stirling, which still defied the efforts of the English, were declared outlaws by the vote, not only of the English barons, but with the extorted consent of their broken and dispirited countrymen.*

At length Fraser, despairing of being able again to rouse the spirit of the nation, consented to accept the hard conditions of fine and banishment offered him by the conqueror; and Wallace found himself standing alone against Edward, excepted from all amnesty, and inexorably marked for death.† Surrounded by his enemies, he came from the fastnesses where he had taken refuge to the forest of Dunfermline, and, by the mediation of his friends, proposed on certain conditions to surrender himself. These terms, however, partook more of the bold character of the mind which had never bowed to Edward, than of the spirit of a suppliant suing for pardon. When reported to Edward he broke out into ungovernable rage, cursed him by the fiend as a traitor, pronounced his malediction on all who sustained or supported him, and set a reward of three hundred marks upon his head. On hearing this, Wallace betook himself again to the wilds and mountains, and subsisted on plunder.‡

* Trivet, p. 333.

† See Notes and Illustrations, letter R.

‡ It is singular that this last circumstance should have escaped Lord Hailes and our other historians. It is expressly and minutely stated by Langtoft. Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 324.

“Turn we now other weyes, unto our owen geste,
And speke of the Waleys that lies in the foreste;
In the forest he lendes of Dounfermelyn,
He praid all his frendes, and other of his kyn,
After that Yole, thei wilde beseke Edward,
That he might yelde till him, in a forward

The castle of Stirling was now the only fortress which had not opened its gates to Edward. It had been intrusted by its governor, John de Soulis, who was still in France, to the care of Sir William Olifant, an experienced soldier, who, on seeing the great preparations made by Edward against his comparatively feeble garrison, sent a message to the king, informing him that it was impossible for him to surrender the castle without forfeiting his oaths and honour as a knight, pledged to his master, Sir John Soulis; but that if a cessation of hostilities were granted for a short time, he would instantly repair to France, inquire the will of his master, and return again to deliver up the castle, if permitted to do so.* This was a proposal perfectly in the spirit of the age, and Edward, who loved chivalry, would at another time probably have agreed to it; but he was now, to use the expressive words of Langtoft, “full grim,” and roused to a pitch of excessive fury against the obstinate resistance of the Scots. “I will agree to no such terms,” said he; “if he will not surrender the castle, let him keep it against us at his peril.” And Olifant, accordingly, with the assistance of Sir William Dupplin, and other knights, who had shut themselves up therein, proceeded to fortify the walls, to direct his engines of defence, and to pre-

That were honorable to kepe wod or beste,
 And with his scrite full stable, and seled at the least,
 To him and all his to haf in heritage;
 And none otherwise, als terme tyme and stage
 Bot als a propre thing that were conquest till him.
 Whan thei brouht that tething Edward was fulle grim,
 And bilauht him the fende, als his traytoure in Lond,
 And ever-ilkon his frende that him susteyn'd or fond.
 Three hundreth marke he hette unto his warisoun,
 That with him so mette, or bring his hede to toun.
 Now flies William Waleis, of pres nouht he spedis,
 In mores and mareis with robberie him fedis.”

* Prynn, Edward I., p. 1051.

pare the castle for the last extremities of a siege. Thirteen warlike engines were brought by the besiegers to bear upon the fortress.* The missiles which they threw consisted of leaden balls of great size, with huge stones and javelins, and the leaden roof of the refectory of St Andrews was torn away to supply materials for these deadly machines;† but for a long time the efforts of the assailants produced no breach in the walls, whilst the sallies of the besieged, and the dexterity with which their engines were directed and served, made great havoc in the English army. During all this, Edward, although his advanced age might have afforded him an excuse for caution, exposed his person with an almost youthful rashness. Mounted on horseback, he rode beneath the walls to make his observations, and was more than once struck by the stones and javelins thrown from the engines on the ramparts. One day, when riding so near that he could distinguish the soldiers who worked the balistæ, a javelin struck him on the breast, and lodged itself in the steel plates of his armour. The king with his own hand plucked out the dart, which had not pierced the skin, and shaking it in the air, called out aloud that he would hang the villain who had hit him.‡ On another occasion, when riding within the range of the engines, a stone of great size and weight struck so near, and with such noise and force, that the king's horse backed and fell with his master; upon which some of the soldiers, seeing his danger, ran in and forced Edward down the hill towards the tents.§ Whilst these engines within

* "Threttene great engynes, of all the reame the best,
Brouht thei to Strivelyne, the kastle down to kest."

Langtoft, p. 326.

† Fordun a Hearne, p. 990.

‡ Walsingham, p. 89.

§ Math. Westminster, p. 449.

the castle did so much execution, those of Edward, being of small dimensions in comparison with the height of the walls, had little effect ; and when fagots and branches were thrown into the fosse, to facilitate the assault, a sally from the castle succeeded in setting the whole in flames, and carried confusion and slaughter into the English lines.

The siege had now continued from the twenty-second of April to the twentieth of May, without much impression having been made. But determination was a marked feature in the powerful character of the king. He wrote to the sheriffs of York, Lincoln, and London, commanding them to purchase and send instantly to him, at Stirling, all the balistæ, quarrells, bows and arrows, which they could collect within their counties ; and he despatched a letter to the Governor of the Tower, requiring him to send down, with all haste, the balistæ and small quarrells which were under his charge in that fortress.* Anxious, also, for the assistance and presence of all his best soldiers, he published, at Stirling, an inhibition, proclaiming that no knight, esquire, or other person whatsoever, should frequent jousts or tournaments, or go in search of adventures and deeds of arms, without his special license ;† and aware that the Scottish garrison must soon be in want of provisions, he cut off all communication with the surrounding country, and gave orders for the employment of a new and dreadful instrument of destruction, the Greek fire, with which he had probably become acquainted in the East.‡ The mode in which this destructive combustible was used, seems to have been by shooting from the balistæ, large arrows,

* Rymer, new edit. vol. i. p. 963.

‡ Wardrobe Book of Edward I., p. 52.

† Ibid. p. 964.

to whose heads were fastened balls of ignited cotton, which stuck in the roofs and walls of the buildings they struck, and set them on fire. In addition to this, he commanded his engineers to construct two immense machines, which, unlike those employed at first, overtopped the walls, and were capable of throwing stones and leaden balls of three hundred pounds weight. The first of these was a complicated machine, which, although much pains was bestowed on its construction, did no great execution; but the second, which the soldiers called the wolf, was more simple in its form, and, from its size and strength, most murderous in its effects.*

These great efforts succeeded: a large breach was made in the two inner walls of the castle; and the outer ditch having been filled up with heaps of stones and fagots thrown into it, Edward ordered a general assault. The brave little garrison, which for three months had successfully resisted the whole strength of the English army, were now dreadfully reduced by the siege. Their provisions were exhausted. Thirteen women, the wives and sisters of the knights and barons who defended the place, were shut up along with the soldiers, and their distress and misery became extreme. In these circumstances—their walls cast down, the engines carrying the troops wheeled up to the breach, and the scaling ladders fixed on the parapet—a deputation was sent to Edward, with an offer to capitulate, on security of life and limb. This proposal the king met with contempt and scorn; but he agreed to treat on the terms of an unconditional surrender, and appointed four of his barons, the Earls of Gloucester and

* *Liber Garderobæ Edw. I.*, fol. 52. I owe these curious particulars to the research of Mr Macgregor Stirling.

Ulster, with Sir Eustace le Poor, and Sir John de Mowbray, to receive the last resolution of the besieged.

Sir John and Sir Eustace accordingly proceeded to the castle gate, and summoned the governor; upon which Sir William Olifant, his kinsman Sir William de Dupplin, and their squire Thomas Lillay, met the English knights, and proceeded with them to an interview with the two earls. At this meeting they consented, for themselves and their companions, to surrender unconditionally to the King of England; and they earnestly requested that he would permit them to make this surrender in his own presence, and himself witness their contrition.*

To this Edward agreed, and forthwith appointed Sir John Lovel to fill the place of governor. A melancholy pageant of feudal submission now succeeded. Sir William Olifant, and, along with him, twenty-five of the knights and gentlemen, his companions in the siege, presented themselves before the king, who received them in princely state, surrounded by his nobles and warriors. In order to save their lives, these brave men were compelled to appear in a garb and posture, against which every generous feeling revolts. Their persons were stript to their shirts and drawers; their heads and feet were bare; they wore ropes around their necks; and thus, with clasped hands and bended knee, they implored the clemency of the king. Upon this, Edward, of his royal mercy, exempted them from the ignominy

* It is asserted, both by Fordun a Hearne, p. 991, and by Winton, vol. ii. p. 119, that the castle was delivered up to the English on a written agreement signed by Edward, that the garrison should be quit and free of all harm; which agreement Edward perfidiously broke. The only thing mentioned in Rymer, new edit. p. 996, which gives some countenance to this accusation, is the fact, that Olifant and Dupplin agreed to surrender *according to the terms which had been offered by the Earl of Lincoln*, and the record somewhat suspiciously conceals what these terms were. They may have amounted to a promise that the garrison should be quit of all harm.

of being chained; but Olifant was sent to the Tower, and the rest were imprisoned in different castles throughout England.* The garrison was found to consist of no more than a hundred and forty soldiers; an incredibly small number, if we consider that for three months they had resisted the efforts of the army of England, led by the king in person.†

Having thus secured his conquest, by the reduction of the last castle which had resisted his authority; and having appointed English captains to the other strengths in Scotland, Edward left the temporary government of that country to John de Segrave; and, accompanied by the chief of the Scottish nobility, proceeded by Selkirk and Jedburgh to Yetholm, upon the Borders, and from thence to Lincoln, where he kept his Christmas with great solemnity and rejoicing.‡

The only man in Scotland who had steadily refused submission was Wallace; and the king, with that inveterate enmity and unshaken perseverance which marked his conduct to his enemies, now used every possible means to hunt him down, and become master of his person. He had already set a large sum upon his head; he gave strict orders to his captains and governors in Scotland to be constantly on the alert; and he now carefully sought out those Scotsmen who were enemies to Wallace, and bribed them to discover and betray him.§ For this purpose he commanded Sir John de Mowbray, a Scottish knight then at his court, and who seems at this time to have risen into great trust and favour with Edward, to carry with him into Scotland Ralph de Haliburton, one of the prisoners

* Rymer, new edit. p. 966. Math. West. p. 449–450.

† Hemingford, vol. i. p. 206. See Notes and Illustrations, letter S.

‡ Math. West. p. 450. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 206.

§ Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 223.

lately taken at Stirling. Haliburton was ordered to co-operate with the other Scotsmen who were then engaged in the attempt to seize Wallace, and Mowbray was to watch how this base person conducted himself.* What were the particular measures adopted by Haliburton, or with whom he co-operated, it is now impossible to determine; but it is certain that, soon after this, Wallace was betrayed and taken by Sir John Menteith, a Scottish baron of high rank. Perhaps we are to trace this infamous transaction to a family feud. At the battle of Falkirk, Wallace, who, on account of his overbearing conduct, had never been popular with the Scottish nobility, opposed the pretensions of Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, when this baron contended for the chief command. In that disastrous defeat, Sir John Stewart, with the flower of his followers, was surrounded and slain; and it is said that Sir John Menteith, his uncle, never forgave Wallace for making good his own retreat, without attempting a rescue.† By whatever motive he was actuated, Menteith succeeded in discovering his retreat, through the treacherous information of a servant who waited on him;‡ and having invaded the house by night, seized him in bed, and instantly delivered him to Edward.

His fate, as was to be expected, was soon decided; but the circumstances of refined cruelty and torment which attended his execution, reflect an indelible stain upon the character of Edward; and, were they not stated by the English historians themselves, could

* Ryley, *Placita*, p. 279. Leland, *Collect.* vol. i. p. 541, shows that Wallace employed in his service a knight named Henry Haliburton.

† Fordun a Hearne, p. 981. Duncan Stewart, *Hist. of Royal Family of Scotland*, p. 149-209.

‡ Langtoft, *Chron.* p. 329.

scarcely be believed. Having been carried to London, he was brought with much pomp to Westminster Hall, and there arraigned of treason. A crown of laurel, in mockery placed, was on his head, because Wallace had been heard to boast that he deserved to wear a crown in that hall. Sir Peter Mallorie, the king's justice, then impeached him as a traitor to the King of England,* as having burnt the villages and abbeys, stormed the castles, and slain and tortured the liege subjects of his master the king. Wallace indignantly and truly repelled the charge of treason, as he never had sworn fealty to Edward; but to the other articles of accusation he pleaded no defence: they were notorious, and he was condemned to death. The sentence was executed on the twenty-third of August. Disrowned and chained, he was now dragged at the tails of horses through the streets, to the foot of a high gallows, placed at the elms in Smithfield.† After being hanged, but not to death, he was cut down yet breathing, his bowels taken out, and burnt before his face.‡ His head was then struck off, and his body divided into four quarters. The head was placed on a pole on London Bridge, his right arm above the bridge at Newcastle, his left arm was sent to Berwick, his right foot and limb to Perth, and his left quarter to Aberdeen.§ “These,” says an old English historian, “were the trophies of their favourite hero, which the Scots had now to contemplate, instead of his banners and gonfanons, which they had once proudly followed.” But he might have added, that they were trophies more

* Stow, Chron. p. 209.

† Winton, vol. ii. Notes, p. 502. Wallace was executed at Smithfield, on the site occupied now by Cow Lane.

‡ Math. Westminster, p. 451.

§ MS. Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 203. Notes and Illustrations, letter T.

glorious than the richest banner that had ever been borne before him; and if Wallace already had been, for his daring and romantic character, the idol of the people,—if they had long regarded him as the only man who had asserted, throughout every change of circumstances, the independence of his country,—now that the mutilated limbs of this martyr to liberty were brought amongst them, it may well be conceived how deep and inextinguishable were their feelings of pity and revenge. Tyranny is proverbially short-sighted: and Edward, assuredly, could have adopted no more certain way of canonizing the memory of his enemy, and increasing the unforgiving animosity of his countrymen.

The course of events which soon followed this cruel sentence, demonstrates the truth of these remarks. For fifteen years had Edward been employed in the reduction of Scotland,—Wallace was put to death,—the rest of the nobility had sworn fealty,—the fortresses of the land were in the hands of English governors, who acted under an English guardian,—a parliament was held at London, where the Scottish nation was represented by ten commissioners, and these persons, in concert with twenty English commissioners, organised an entirely new system of government for Scotland. The English king, indeed, affected to disclaim all violent or capricious innovations; and it was pretended, that the new regulations which were introduced, were dictated by the advice of the Scottish nobles, and with a respect to the ancient laws of the land; but he took care that all that really marked an independent kingdom should be destroyed; and that, whilst the name of authority was given to the Scottish commissioners who were to sit in parliament, the reality

of power belonged solely to himself. Scotland, therefore, might be said to be entirely reduced; and Edward flattered himself that he was now in quiet to enjoy that sovereignty which had been purchased by a war of fifteen years, and at an incredible expense of blood and treasure. But how idle are the dreams of ambition! In less than six months from the execution of Wallace,* this new system of government was entirely overthrown, and Scotland was once more free.

* Wallace was executed 23d August, 1305. The new regulations for the government of Scotland were introduced on the 15th October, 1305. Bruce was crowned 27th March, 1306. Lord Hailes represents the capture of Wallace by Sir John Menteith as only a *popular tradition*, leaving it to be inferred by his reader that there is no historical authority for the fact. See Notes and Illustrations, letter U, for an examination of the historian's opinion upon this subject.

CHAP. III.

ROBERT BRUCE.

1305—1314.

 CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Kings of England.
 Edward I.
 Edward II.

King of France.
 Philip IV.

Pope.
 Clement V.

WE now enter upon the history of this great and rapid revolution ; and in doing so, it will first be necessary to say a few words upon the early character and conduct of the Earl of Carrick, afterwards Robert the First.

This eminent person was the grandson of that Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, who was competitor for the crown with John Baliol. He was lineally descended from Isabella, second daughter of David earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion. John Baliol, the late King of Scotland, had, as we have already seen, renounced for ever all claim to the throne ; and his son Edward was at that time a minor and a captive. Marjory Baliol, the sister of this unfortunate monarch, married John Comyn lord of Badenoch. Their son, John Comyn, commonly called the Red Comyn, the opponent of Wallace, and, till the fatal year 1303, the Regent of the kingdom, possessed, as the son of Marjory, Baliol's sister, a right

to the throne, after the resignation of Baliol and his son, which, according to the principles on which Edward pronounced his decision, was unquestionable. He was also connected by marriage with the royal family of England,* and was undoubtedly one of the most powerful, if not the most powerful, subject in Scotland. Bruce and Comyn were thus the heads of two rival parties in the state, whose animosity was excited by their mutual claims to the same crown, and whose interests were irreconcilable. Accordingly, when Edward gave his famous award in favour of Baliol, Bruce, the competitor, refused to take the oath of homage;† and although he acquiesced in the decision, gave up his lands in the vale of Annandale, which he must have held as a vassal under Baliol, to his son, the Earl of Carrick; again, in 1293, the Earl of Carrick resigned his lands and earldom of Carrick to his son Robert, then a young man in the service of the King of England.‡ In the years 1295 and 1296, Edward invaded Scotland, and reduced Baliol, and the party of the Comyns, to submission. During this contest, Bruce the Earl of Carrick, and son of the competitor, possessed of large estates in England, continued faithful to Edward. He thus preserved his estates, and hoped to see the destruction of the only rivals who stood between him and his claim to the throne. Nor was this a vain expectation; for Edward, on hearing of the revolt of Baliol and the Comyns, undoubtedly held out the prospect of the throne to Bruce:§ and these circumstances afford us a complete explanation of the inactivity of that baron and his son

* His wife Johanna was daughter of William de Valence earl of Pembroke. This Earl of Pembroke was son of Hugh de Brienne, who married Isabella, widow of John king of England, grandfather of Edward the First.

† Leland, Collect. vol. i. p. 540.

‡ Ibid.

§ See supra, p. 94.

at this period. Meanwhile Baliol and the Comyns issued a hasty order, confiscating the estates of all who preserved their allegiance to Edward. In consequence of this resolution, the lordship of Annandale, the paternal inheritance of the Earl of Carrick, was declared forfeited, and given by Baliol to John Comyn earl of Buchan, who immediately seized and occupied Bruce's castle of Lochmaben, an insult which there is reason to think the proud baron never forgave. Compelled to submit to Edward, the Comyns, and the principal nobles who supported them, were now carried prisoners into England; and, when restored to liberty, it was only on condition that they should join his army in Flanders, and assist him in his foreign wars.

During the brief but noble stand made by Wallace for the national liberty, Robert Bruce, then a young man of three-and-twenty, was placed in difficult and critical circumstances. It was in his favour that his rivals, the Comyns, were no longer in the field, but kept in durance by Edward. His father remained in England, where he possessed large estates, and continued faithful in his allegiance to the king. At this time it is important to remark what Walter Hemingford, a contemporary English historian, has said of young Bruce: After mentioning the revolt which was headed by Wallace, he informs us, "that the Bishop of Carlisle, and other barons, to whom the peace of that district was committed, became suspicious of the fidelity of Robert Bruce the younger, Earl of Carrick, and sent for him to come and treat upon the affairs of Edward, if he intended to remain faithful to that monarch." Bruce, he continues, did not dare to disobey, but came on the day appointed, with his vassals of Galloway, and took an oath on the sacred host, and

upon the sword of St Thomas, that he would assist the king against the Scots, and all his enemies, both by word and deed. Having taken this oath, he returned to his country; and, to give a colour of truth to his fidelity, collected his vassals, and ravaged the lands of William Douglas, carrying the wife and infant children of this knight into Annandale. Soon after this, however, as he returned from a meeting of the Scottish conspirators to his own country, having assembled his father's men of Annandale, (for his father himself then resided in the south of England, and was ignorant of his son's treachery,) he told them, "that it was true he had lately taken a foolish oath at Carlisle, of which they had heard." He assured them that it was extorted by force, and that he not only deeply repented what he had done, but hoped soon to get absolution. Meanwhile he added, "that he was resolved to go with his own vassals and join the nation from which he sprung; and he earnestly entreated them to do the same, and come along with him as his dear friends and counsellors. The men of Annandale, however, disliking the peril of this undertaking, whilst their master, the elder Bruce, was in England, decamped in the night; and the young Bruce, aspiring to the crown, as was generally reported, joined himself to the rebels, and entered into the conspiracy with the Bishop of Glasgow, and the Steward of Scotland, who were at the bottom of the plot."* Such is an almost literal translation from the words of Walter Hemingford, whose information as to Scottish affairs at this period, seems to have been minute and accurate.

At this time the ambition or the patriotic feelings of Bruce were certainly short-lived; for, not many

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 120. Hailes, 8vo edit. vol. i. p. 301.

months after, he made his peace at the capitulation at Irvine, and gave his infant daughter, Marjory, as a hostage for his fidelity.* Subsequent to the successful battle of Stirling, the Comyns, no longer in the power of the English king, joined Wallace; and young Bruce, once more seeing his rivals for the throne opposed to Edward, kept aloof from public affairs, anxious, no doubt, that they should destroy themselves by such opposition. He did not, as has been erroneously stated, accede to the Scottish party,† but, on the contrary, shut himself up in the castle of Ayr, and refused to join the army which fought at Falkirk. As little, however, did he cordially co-operate with the English king, although his father, the elder Bruce, and his brother, Bernard Bruce, were both in his service, and, as there is strong reason to believe, in the English army which fought at Falkirk. Young Bruce's conduct, in short, at this juncture, was that of a cautious neutral; but Edward, who approved of no such lukewarmness in those who had sworn homage to him, immediately after the battle of Falkirk advanced into the west. Bruce, on his approach, fled; and Edward afterwards led his army into Annandale, and seized his strong castle of Lochmaben.‡

In a parliament held not long subsequent to this, the king gave to his nobles some of the estates of the chief men in Scotland; but the great estates of the Bruce family, embracing Annandale and Carrick, were not alienated. The fidelity of the elder Bruce to Eng-

* Rymer, *Fœd.* vol. i. new edit. p. 868. Robert Bruce earl of Carrick, James the Steward of Scotland, John his brother, Alexander de Lindesay, and William de Douglas, submitted themselves to Edward. On 30th July, 1297, John Comyn son of John lord of Badenoch, John earl of Athole, and Richard Suvad, were liberated from prison, and accompanied Edward to Flanders.

† Hailes' *Annals*, vol. i. 4to, p. 256-263.

‡ Hemingford, p. 166.

land, in all probability preserved them. On the 13th of November, 1299, we find Robert Bruce the younger, Earl of Carrick, associated, as one of the regents of the kingdom, with John Comyn, that powerful rival, with whom he had hitherto never acted in concert.* It seems, however, to have been an unnatural coalition, arising more out of Bruce's having lost the confidence of Edward, than indicative of any new cordiality between him and Comyn; and there can be little doubt also, that they were brought to act together, by a mutual desire to humble and destroy the power of Wallace, in which they succeeded. But to punish this union, Edward, in his short campaign of 1300, wasted Annandale, took Lochmaben castle, and marched into Galloway, ravaging Bruce's country. Thus exposed to, and suffering under, the vengeance of the King of England, it might be expected that he should have warmly joined with his brother regents in the war. But this seems not to have been the case. He did not take an active share in public affairs; and previous to the battle of Roslin, he returned, as we have seen, to the English party. During the fatal and victorious progress of Edward through Scotland in 1303, he remained faithful to that monarch, while his rivals, the Comyns, continued in arms against him. On the death of his father, which took place in 1304, Bruce was permitted by the King of England to take possession of his whole English and Scottish estates; and so high does he appear to have risen in the esteem of Edward, that he acted a principal part in the settlement of the kingdom in 1304; whilst his rival Comyn, was subjected to a heavy fine, and seems to have wholly lost the confidence of the king.†

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 859.

† Trivet, p. 334.

In this situation matters stood at the important period when we concluded the last chapter. Bruce, whose conduct had been consistent only upon selfish principles, found himself, when compared with other Scottish barons, in an enviable situation. He had preserved his great estates, his rivals were overpowered, and, on any new emergency occurring, the way was partly cleared for his own claim to the crown.

The effect of all this upon the mind of Comyn may be easily imagined. He felt that one, whose conduct, in consistency and honour, had been inferior to his own, was rewarded with the confidence and favour of the king; whilst he who had struggled to the last for the liberty of his country, became an object of suspicion and neglect. This seems to have rankled in his heart, and he endeavoured to instil suspicions of the fidelity of Bruce into the mind of Edward;* but at the same time he kept up to that proud rival the appearance of friendship and familiarity. Bruce, in the meantime, although he had matured no certain design for the recovery of the crown, never lost sight of his pretensions, and neglected no opportunity of strengthening himself and his cause, by those bands and alliances with powerful barons and prelates, which were common in that age. He had entered into a secret league of this kind with William de Lamberton bishop of St Andrews, in which they engaged faithfully to consult together, and to give mutual assistance to each other, by themselves and their people, at all times, and against all persons, to the utmost of their power; without guile to warn each other against all dangers,

* Hemingford, p. 219, says this expressly: "*Cumque mutuo loquerentur ad invicem verbis ut videbatur pacificis, statim convertens faciem et verba perversens cœpit impropere ei.*"

and to use their utmost endeavour to prevent them.* This league was of course sedulously concealed from Edward, but it seems to have become known to Comyn, and a conference between him and Bruce on the subject of their rival claims actually took place. At this meeting, Bruce described in strong expressions the miserable servitude into which their mutual dissensions, and their pretensions to the crown, had plunged the country; and we are informed by one of the most ancient and accurate of the contemporary historians, that he proposed as an alternative to Comyn, either that this baron should make over his great estate to Bruce, on condition of receiving from him in return his assistance in asserting his claim to the throne, or should agree to accept Bruce's lands, and assist him in the recovery of his hereditary kingdom. "Support my title to the crown," said Bruce, "and I will give you my estate; or give me your estate, and I will support yours."† Comyn agreed to wave his right, and accept the lands; and, in the course of these confidential meetings, became acquainted with Bruce's secret associations, and even possessed of papers which contained evidence of his designs for the recovery of his rights. These designs, however, were as yet quite immature, and Bruce, who was still unsuspected, and in high confidence with Edward, repaired to the English court. Whilst there, Comyn betrayed him,‡ and despatched letters to the king, informing him of the ambitious

* See Ayloffe's Calendar of Ancient Charters, p. 295. The deed is transcribed in Lord Hailes' Annals, vol. i. p. 280.

† Fordun a Hearne, p. 992, vol. iv. Winton, vol. ii. p. 122, says this conference took place when the two barons were "ryding fra Strevylyn." See also Langtoft, vol. ii. p. 330. Barbour's Bruce, Jamieson's edit. p. 18.

‡ Winton asserts, vol. ii. p. 123, that Comyn betrayed Bruce when he was yet in Scotland; upon which Edward sent for him to get him into his power; and that Bruce, suspecting nothing, repaired to London to attend parliament.

projects of Bruce. Edward, anxious to unravel the whole conspiracy, had recourse to dissimulation, and the Earl of Carrick continued in apparent favour. But the king had inadvertently dropped some hint of an intention to seize him ; and Bruce, having received from his kinsman, the Earl of Gloucester,* an intimation of his danger, took horse, and, accompanied by a few friends, precipitately fled to Scotland. On the Borders they encountered a messenger hastening to England. His deportment was suspicious, and Bruce ordered him to be questioned and searched. He proved to be an emissary of Comyn's, whom that baron had sent to communicate with Edward. He was instantly slain, his letters were seized, and Bruce, in possession of documents which disclosed the treachery of Comyn, pressed forward to his castle of Lochmaben,† which he reached on the fifth day after his sudden flight. Here he met his brother, Edward Bruce, and informed him of the perilous circumstances in which he was placed.‡ It was now the month of February, the time when the English justiciars appointed by Edward were accustomed to hold their courts at Dumfries ; and Bruce, as a freeholder of Annandale, was bound to be present. Comyn was also a freeholder in Dumfriesshire, and obliged to attend on the justiciars ; so that in this way those two proud rivals were brought into contact, under circumstances peculiarly irritating.§ They met at Dumfries, and Bruce, burning with ill-dissembled indignation, requested a private interview with the rival who had betrayed him, in the Convent of the Minorite

* The Earl of Gloucester is ridiculously enough denominated by Maitland, vol. i. p. 469, Earl Gomer, by Boece called Glomer, which is as absurdly supposed to be a corruption of Montgomery.

† Winton, vol. ii. p. 127.

‡ Barbour, vol. i. p. 23.

§ Hailes' Annals, vol. i. p. 355.

Friars. Comyn agreed, and, entering the convent, they had not reached the high altar, before words grew high and warm, and the young baron, losing command of temper, openly arraigned Comyn of treachery. "You lie!" said Comyn; upon which Bruce instantly stabbed him with his dagger, and hurrying from the sanctuary which he had defiled with blood, rushed into the street, and called, "To horse!" Lindsay and Kirkpatrick, two of his followers, seeing him pale and agitated, demanded the cause. "I doubt," said Bruce, as he threw himself on his horse, "I have slain Comyn." "Do you doubt?" cried Kirkpatrick, fiercely, "I'll make sure!" and instantly entered the convent, where he found the unhappy man still alive, but bleeding, and lying on the steps of the high altar. By this time the noise of the scuffle had alarmed his friends; and his uncle, Sir Robert Comyn,* rushing into the convent, attempted to save him. But Kirkpatrick slew this new opponent, and having despatched his dying victim, who could offer no resistance, rejoined his master. Bruce now assembled his followers, and took possession of the castle of Dumfries, whilst the English justiciars, who held their court in a hall in the castle, believing their lives to be in danger, barricaded the doors. But the building was immediately set fire to, upon which the judges capitulated, and were permitted to depart from Scotland without further molestation.†

* There seems some little ambiguity about the knight's name. Hailes, vol. i. p. 291, says he is commonly called Sir Richard. A book of chronicles in Peter College Library, quoted by Leland, Coll. vol. i. p. 473, calls him Sir Roger. The Pope's bull, vol. iii. Rymer, Fœd. p. 810, puts it beyond doubt that his name is Robert. The murder of Comyn happened on Thursday the 10th of February, 1305-6.

† Hemingford, vol. i. p. 220. This historian tells us, that after Bruce had with his followers seized the castle of Dumfries, and expelled the justiciars, word was brought him that Comyn was still alive, and had been

This murder had been perpetrated by Bruce and his companions in the heat of passion, and was entirely unpremeditated; but its consequences were important and momentous. Bruce's former varying and uncertain line of policy, which had arisen out of the hope of preserving, by fidelity to Edward, his great estates, and of seeing his rival crushed by his opposition to England, was at once changed by the murder of which he had been guilty. His whole schemes upon the crown had been laid open to Edward. This was ruin of itself; but, in addition to this, he had, with his own hand, assassinated the first noble in the realm, and in a place of tremendous sanctity. He had stained the high altar with blood, and had directed against himself, besides the resentment of the powerful friends and vassals of the murdered earl, all the terrors of religion, and the strongest prejudices of the people. The die, however, was cast, and he had no alternative left to him, but either to become a fugitive and an outlaw, or to raise open banner against Edward; and, although the disclosure of his plans was premature, to proclaim his title to the crown. Having determined on this last, he repaired immediately to Lochmaben castle, and despatched letters to his friends and adherents. It was fortunate for him at this trying crisis, that he had secured the friendship and assistance of the Archbishop of St Andrews, William de Lamberton, by one of those bands or covenants, which, in this age, it was considered an unheard-of outrage to break or disregard. Lamberton's friendship, disarmed of its dreadful consequences that sentence of excommunica-

carried by the friars within the high altar, to confess his sins. Upon which Bruce ordered him to be dragged out, and slain on the steps of the altar, so that the altar itself was stained with his blood. This is improbable.

tion which was soon thundered against him, and his powerful influence necessarily interested in his behalf the whole body of the Scottish clergy.

The desperate nature of Bruce's undertaking appeared very manifest, from the small number of adherents who joined his fortunes. The enumeration will not occupy much space. It embraced the Earls of Lennox and of Athole; Lamberton the Bishop of St Andrews; Robert Wishart bishop of Glasgow; David bishop of Moray; the Abbot of Scone; his four brothers, Edward, Nigel, Thomas, and Alexander; his nephew, Thomas Randolph; his brother-in-law, Christopher Seton; Gilbert de la Haye of Errol, with his brother, Hugh de la Haye; David Barclay of Cairns; Alexander Fraser, brother of Simon Fraser, of Oliver castle; Walter de Somerville, of Linton and Carnwath; David of Inehmartin; Robert Boyd; and Robert Fleming. Such was the handful of brave men, comprising two earls and only fourteen barons, with whose assistance Bruce determined to take the field against the overwhelming power of England, directed by one of the most experienced statesmen, and certainly by the most successful military commander, of the age. "With these," says the authentic and affectionate Fordun, "he had the courage to raise his hand, not only against the King of England and his allies, but against the whole accumulated power of Scotland, with the exception of an extremely small number who adhered to him, and who seemed like a drop of water when compared to the ocean."*

* "There is no living man," continues the historian, "who is able to narrate the story of those complicated misfortunes which befell him in the commencement of this war, his frequent perils, his retreats, the care and weariness, the hunger and thirst, the watching and fasting, the cold and nakedness to which he exposed his person, the exile into which he was

Bruce's first step was bold and decisive. He determined immediately to be crowned at Scone, and for this purpose repaired from his castle of Lochmaben to Glasgow, where he was joined by some of the friends who supported his enterprise. On the road from Lochmaben, a young knight, well armed and horsed, encountered his retinue, who, the moment Bruce approached, threw himself from his horse, and kneeling, did homage to him as his sovereign. He was immediately recognised as Sir James Douglas, the son of William, the fourth Lord Douglas, whose estate had been given by Edward to the Lord Clifford, and was affectionately welcomed; for his father had fought with Wallace, and the son had already shown some indications of his future greatness. Douglas immediately joined the little band who rode with Bruce; and thus commenced a friendship, which, after a series of as noble services as ever subject paid to sovereign, was not dissolved even by death: for it was to this tried follower that in after years his dying master committed his heart to be carried to Jerusalem.*

From Glasgow, Bruce rode to Scone, and there was solemnly crowned, on Friday, the 27th of March. Edward had carried off the ancient regalia of the kingdom, and the famous stone-chair, in which, according

driven, the snares and ambushes which he escaped, the seizure, imprisonment, the execution, and utter destruction of his dearest friends and relatives. . . . And if in addition to these almost innumerable and untoward events, which he ever bore with a cheerful and unconquered spirit, any man should undertake to describe his individual conflicts and personal successes, those courageous and single-handed combats, in which, by the favour of God, and his own great strength and courage; he would often penetrate into the thickest of the enemy, now becoming the assailant, and cutting down all who opposed him; at another time acting on the defensive, and evincing equal talents in escaping from what seemed inevitable death; if any writer shall do this, he will prove, if I am not mistaken, that he had no equal in his own time, either in knightly prowess, or in strength and vigour of body."—*Fordun a Hearne*, vol. v. p. 998.

* Barbour, by Jamieson, p. 27.

to ancient custom, the Scottish kings were inaugurated. But the ready care of Wishart bishop of Glasgow, supplied from his own wardrobe the robes in which Robert appeared at his coronation; and a slight coronet of gold,* probably borrowed by the abbot of Scone from some of the saints or kings which adorned his abbey, was employed instead of the hereditary crown. A banner, wrought with the arms of Baliol, was delivered by the Bishop of Glasgow to the new king; and Robert received beneath it the homage of the prelates and earls who attended the ceremony. On the second day after the coronation, and before Bruce and his friends had left Scone, they were surprised by the sudden arrival of Isabella countess of Buchan, sister of the Earl of Fife, who immediately claimed the privilege of placing the king upon the throne. It was a right which had undoubtedly belonged to the earls of Fife from the days of Malcolm Canmore; and as the Earl of Fife was at this time of the English party, the countess, a high-spirited woman, leaving her home, joined Bruce at Scone, bringing with her the war-horses of her husband.† The new king was not in a condition to think lightly of anything of this nature. To have refused Isabella's request, might give to his enemies some colour for alleging, that an essential part of the ancient solemnity had been omitted in his coronation. The English historians would have us believe that the lady was influenced by tenderer feelings than ambition or policy; but this is doubtful. It is

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 1048. This *coronella aurea* came into the hands of Geoffrey de Coigners, who seems to have incurred the resentment of Edward the First, for concealing and preserving it. Langtoft, *Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 331. Maitland has no authority for asserting, vol. i. p. 474, that the crown was made expressly for Robert's coronation, by Geoffrey de Coigners.

† Hemingford, vol. i. p. 220. Robertson's *Index*, p. 17, No. 41.

certain, that on the 20th of March, the king was a second time installed in the regal chair by the hands of the countess,* who afterwards suffered severely for her alleged presumption.

Bruce next made a progress through various parts of Scotland, strengthening his party by the accession of new partisans; seizing some of the castles and towns which were in the possession of the enemy; committing to prison the sheriffs and officers of Edward;† and creating so great a panic, that many of the English fled precipitately from the country. His party, nevertheless, was small; the Comyns possessed the greatest power in Scotland, and they and their followers opposed him, not only from motives of policy, but with the deepest feelings of feudal enmity and revenge; while many earls and barons, who had suffered in the late wars, preferred the quiet of submission, to the repeated hazards of insurrection and revolt.

Edward had returned to Winchester, from a pleasure tour through the counties of Dorset and Hampshire, when he received the intelligence of the murder of Comyn and the revolt of Bruce. Although not an aged man, he had reached the mature period of sixty-five; and a constant exposure to the fatigues of war, had begun to make an impression upon a constitution of great natural strength. He was become unwieldy, and so infirm that he could not mount on horseback or lead his armies; and after twenty years of ambitious intrigue, and almost uninterrupted war, now that he was in the decline of his strength and years, he found his Scottish conquests about to be wrested from him by a rival, in whom he had placed the greatest

* Trivet, p. 342. See Notes and Illustrations, letter V.

† Rymer, Fœd. vol. ii. p. 988.

confidence. But although broken in body, this great king was in his mind and spirit yet vigorous and unimpaired, as was soon evinced by the rapidity and decision of his orders, and the subsequent magnitude of his preparations. He instantly sent to strengthen the frontier garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle, with the intention of securing the English Borders on that side from invasion; and he appointed the Earl of Pembroke, with Lord Robert Clifford and Henry Percy, to march into Scotland, directing them to proceed against his rebels in that kingdom.* This was in an eminent degree the age of chivalry; and Edward, who had himself gained renown in Palestine, availed himself of that imposing system to give greater spirit to his intended expedition. He published a manifesto, declaring his intention of bestowing knighthood upon his son, the Prince of Wales; and he caused it to be proclaimed over England, that as many young esquires as had a right to claim knighthood, should appear at Westminster on the Feast of Pentecost, and receive that honour along with the son of their sovereign, after which they should accompany him in his Scottish war. On the day appointed, three hundred young gentlemen, the flower of the English youth, with a brilliant assemblage of pages and attendants, crowded before the king's palace; which being too small for so great a concourse, orders were given to cut down the trees in the orchard of the New Temple. In this ample space the novices pitched their pavilions; and the

* Rymer, *Fœd.* new edition, vol. i. part ii. p. 982. Math. Westminst. p. 454. Aymer de Valence earl of Pembroke, was appointed Guardian of Scotland, with full power to receive those to mercy who would come in and submit themselves, excepting those who had a hand in the murder of the Lord Comyn. This appears by a charter under the Great Seal, quoted by Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 171.

king, with a splendid munificence, distributed to them from his royal wardrobe, the scarlet cloth, fine linen, and embroidered belts, made use of on such occasions. Habited in these, they kept their vigil and watched their arms in the Chapel of the Temple, whilst the young prince performed the same ceremony in the abbey church at Westminster. Next morning Edward, with great pomp, knighted his son in the palace; and the prince, after having received the belt and spurs, came to the abbey church to confer the same honour upon the young esquires who were there waiting for him, with an immense concourse of spectators. This crowd was the cause of giving additional solemnity to the spectacle, for the prince was obliged, from the press, to mount the steps of the high altar; and on this sacred spot, amid the assembled chivalry of England, he conferred the rank of knighthood upon his three hundred companions. He and his companions then proceeded to the banquet, at which two swans, ornamented with golden net-work, emblems in those days of constancy and truth, were brought in. Upon their being placed on the table, the king rose and made a solemn vow to God and to the Swans, that he would set out for Scotland, there avenge the death of John Comyn, punish the treachery of the Scots, and afterwards embark for the holy war, with the resolution to die in Palestine.* After this strange and irreverent adjuration, he next addressed his son, and made him promise, that if he died before he took this journey, he should carry his body with the army into Scotland, and not commit it to the earth until he had obtained the victory over his enemies. The clergy and laity then agreed to contribute a thirtieth, and

* Hailes, vol. ii. p. 4.

the merchants a tenth, towards defraying the expenses of the war. The prince and the barons promised faithfully to perform these commands of their sovereign; and having agreed to meet at Carlisle fifteen days after Midsummer, they returned home to make preparations for war.* The Earl of Pembroke, with Clifford and Henry Percy, soon hastened into Scotland; and the Prince of Wales, with his knights companions, followed in the rear of their army; whilst Edward himself, unable from violent fatigue, proceeded towards Carlisle by slow journeys. It was an ill commencement of the young prince's chivalry, that his excessive cruelty in ravaging the country, and sparing neither age nor sex, incurred the censure of his father the king, who was himself little wont to be scrupulous on these occasions.†

Bruce was unfortunate in the early part of his career; and his military talents, which afterwards conducted him through a course of unexampled victory, were nursed amid scenes of incessant hardship and defeat. After having ravaged Galloway,‡ he marched towards Perth, at that time a town walled and strongly fortified, where the Earl of Pembroke lay with a small army of soldiers. Bruce, on arriving at Perth, and finding the earl shut up within the walls, sent a challenge, requesting him, in the chivalrous style of the age, to come out and try his fortune in an open field. Pembroke answered that the day was too far spent, but that he would fight with him next morning; upon which the king retired, and encamped about a mile from Perth, in the wood of Methven. Towards even-

* Math. Westminst. p. 455. Langtoft, p. 333.

† Ypodigma Neustriæ, p. 498.

‡ Chron. Lanercost, p. 204.

ing, whilst his soldiers were busy cooking their supper,* and many were dispersed in foraging parties, a cry was heard that the enemy were upon them; and Pembroke, with his whole army, which outnumbered the Scots by fifteen hundred men, broke in upon the camp.† The surprise was so complete, that it can only be accounted for by the belief, that the king had implicitly relied upon the promise of the English earl. He and his friends had scarcely time to arm themselves. They made, however, a stout resistance, and at the first onset Bruce attacked the Earl of Pembroke, and slew his horse; but no efforts of individual courage could restore order, or long delay defeat; and the battle of Methven was from the first nearly a rout. The king was thrice unhorsed, and once so nearly taken, that the captor, Sir Philip de Mowbray, called aloud that he had the new-made king, when Sir Christopher Seton felled Mowbray to the earth, and rescued his master.‡ The king's brother, Edward Bruce, Bruce himself, the Earl of Athole, Sir James Douglas, Sir Gilbert de la Haye, Sir Nigel Campbell, and Sir William de Barondoun,§ with about five hundred men, kept the field, and at last effected their retreat into the fastnesses of Athole; but some of his best and bravest friends fell into the hands of the enemy. Sir David de Berklay, Sir Hugh de la Haye, Sir Alexander Fraser, Sir John de Somerville, Sir David Inchmartin, and Thomas Randolph, then a young esquire, were all taken, along with Hugh, a chap-

* Chron. Abingdon, quoted in Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 172.

† Barbour, by Jamieson, p. 37.

‡ Barbour, pp. 35, 36. Math. Westminst. p. 455, asserts that the king was thrice unhorsed, and thrice rescued by Sir Simon Fraser.

§ This knight is a witness to a charter of Haig of Bemerside to the Abbey of Melrose, along with Thomas Rymmer of Ercildoun and others. Chartulary of Melrose, Bib. Harl. 3960, f. 109, a.

lain.* On being informed of the victory, Edward gave orders for the instant execution of the prisoners, but the Earl of Pembroke, with more humanity, did not carry these orders into immediate execution. Randolph, on being pardoned, deserted his uncle; others were ransomed; whilst the chaplain, with other knights who had been taken, were hanged and quartered.†

Bruce and his friends now began to feel the miseries of outlaws. A high price was set on his head, and he was compelled to harbour in the hills, deprived of the common comforts of life. He and his followers presented a ragged and wretched appearance. Their shoes were worn off their feet by constant toil in a mountainous country; and hunting, in better days a joyful pastime, became a necessitous occupation. At length want and distress drove him and his little band into the low country; and at Aberdeen, his brother, Sir Nigel Bruce, met him with his queen and other ladies, determined to share the pains of war and banishment with their husbands and their fathers.‡ Here, after enjoying a short season of solace and respite, a report was brought of the near advance of the English; and the king and his friends, accompanied by their faithful women, retreated into Breadalbane.§ And now, if already they had experienced distress, it was, we may believe, greatly aggravated by the presence

* Prynne's *Edward I.*, p. 1123. Barbour, by Jamieson, p. 35. The battle, according to Hume's *History of the House of Douglas*, p. 44, was fought on the 19th June. A ballad in MS., Harleian, No. 2253, f. 69, a, says, that the battle was fought before St Bartholomew's mass, *i.e.* 24th August.

† Barbour, p. 37. Prynne, *Edward I.*, p. 1123-4.

‡ Edward, on being informed of this trait of female heroism, is said by Fordun to have published a proclamation, proscribing all those women who continued to follow their husbands. Ker, in his *History of Bruce*, vol. i. p. 226, seems to have mistaken the meaning of Fordun, misled by his monkish Latin.

§ Barbour, p. 41.

of those whose constitutions were little able to struggle against cold and hunger, and whose love, as it was of that sterling kind which was ready to share in every privation, only made the hearts of their husbands and fathers more keenly alive to their sufferings. An ancient author has given a striking account of their mode of life. The roots and berries of the woods, the venison caught in the chase, the fish which abounded in the mountain rivers, supplied them with food—the warm skins of deer and roe with bedding—and all laboured to promote their comfort, but none with such success as the brave and gallant Sir James Douglas. This young soldier, after the imprisonment and death of his father, had been educated at the polished court of France;* and whilst his indefatigable perseverance in the chase afforded them innumerable comforts, his sprightly temper and constant gaiety, comforted the king, and amused his forlorn companions.†

They had now reached the head of Tay, and deeper distresses seemed gathering round them, for the season was fast approaching when it was impossible for women to exist in that remote and wild region; and they were on the borders of the Lord of Lorn's country, a determined enemy of Bruce, who had married the aunt of the murdered Comyn.‡ Lorn immediately collected a thousand men, and, with the Barons of Argyle, besetting the passes, hemmed in the king, and attacked him in a narrow defile, where Bruce and his small band of knights could not manage their horses. The Highlanders were on foot; and, armed with that dreadful weapon, the Lochaber axe, did great execution. Sir James Douglas, with Gilbert de la Haye, were both

* Hume's Hist. of House of Douglas and Angus, p. 37.

† Barbour, vol. i. p. 40.

‡ Barbour, p. 41.

wounded, and many of the horses severely cut and gashed; so that the king, dreading the total destruction of his little band, managed to get them together, and having placed himself in the rear, between them and the men of Lorn, commenced his retreat, halting at intervals, and driving back the enemy, when they pressed too hard upon them. It was in one of these skirmishes that Bruce, who, in the use of his weapons, was esteemed inferior to no knight of his time, with his own hand killed three soldiers, who attacked him at the same time and at a disadvantage*—a feat which is said to have extorted even from his enemies the praise of superior chivalry. Having thus again escaped, a council was held, and it was resolved that the queen and her ladies should be conducted to the strong castle of Kildrummie, in Mar, under an escort, commanded by young Nigel Bruce, the king's brother, and John earl of Athole. The king, with only two hundred men, and beset on all sides by his enemies, was left to make his way through Lennox to Kentire, a district which, from the influence of Sir Neil Campbell, who was then with him, he expected would be somewhat more friendly. He now gave up all the horses to those who were to escort the women, and having determined to pursue his way on foot, took a melancholy farewell of his queen.† It was the last time he ever saw his brother, who soon after was taken, and fell a victim to the implacable revenge of Edward. Bruce, meanwhile, pressed on through Perthshire to Loch

* Barbour, p. 44. Lord Hailes, who in other places quotes Barbour as an unquestionable historical authority, says, he dare not venture to place this event in the text. Surely there is nothing marvellous in a knight of great bodily strength and courage, with his single hand despatching three half naked *ketherans*.

† Barbour, vol. i. p. 51.

Lomond. On the banks of this lake his progress was suddenly arrested. To have travelled round it, would have been accomplished at great risk, when every hour, which could convey him beyond the pursuit of his enemies, was of value. After some time, they succeeded in discovering a little boat, which, from its crazy and leaky state, could hold but three persons, and that not without danger of sinking. In it, the king, Sir James Douglas, and another, who rowed them, first passed over. They then despatched it in return for the rest, so that the whole band at length succeeded in reaching the other side. Amid these complicated dangers and distresses, the spirit of their royal master wonderfully supported his followers. His memory was stored with the tales of romance, so popular in that chivalrous age; and in recounting the sufferings of their fabled heroes, he is said to have diverted the minds of his friends from brooding too deeply on their own.* They began now to feel the misery of hunger, and in traversing the woods in search of food, they encountered the Earl of Lennox, who, since the unfortunate defeat at Methven, had heard nothing of the fate of his sovereign. Lennox fell on his master's neck, and the king wept in embracing him. But even this natural burst of grief proved dangerous, by occupying too much time; for the enemy were now pressing on their track, and every thing depended on Bruce's gaining the coast, where he expected to meet Sir Neil Campbell, whom he had sent in advance. This he fortunately accomplished; and Campbell, with a few boats which he had collected, conveyed the monarch and his followers to the coast of Kentire, where they were hospitably received by

* Barbour, vol. i. pp. 53, 54.

Angus of Isla, Lord of Kentire. From thence, deeming himself still insecure, he passed over with three hundred in his company, to the little island of Rachrin, situated on the northern coast of Ireland, amid whose rude but friendly inhabitants he buried himself from the pursuit of his enemies.*

Edward, on hearing of the escape of Bruce, proceeded with his usual severity against his enemies. He published at Lanercost, where he then lay, on his road to Scotland, an ordinance, by which all who were guilty of the death of John Comyn, were sentenced to be drawn and hanged; and he decreed, that the same extremity of punishment should be inflicted on such as either advised or assented, or, after the fact, knowingly received them. It was added, that any persons who were in arms against the king, either before or since the battle of Methven, as well as all who were willingly of the party of Robert Bruce, or who assisted the people in rising contrary to law, were, on conviction, to be imprisoned; and it was commanded, that every subject of the king should levy hue and cry upon all who had been in arms against England, and under the penalty of imprisonment, and loss of their estates, apprehend such offenders dead or alive. Finally, as to the common people of Scotland, who, contrary to their inclination, might by their lords have been compelled to rise in arms, the guardian was permitted to fine and ransom them according to their offences.†

These orders were rigorously carried into execution, and the terror of the king's vengeance induced some of the Scottish barons to act with meanness. Bruce's

* Barbour, p. 62.

† Tyrrel, *Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 174; and Rymer, *Fœd.* vol. i. part ii. p. 995, new edit.

queen,* and his daughter Marjory, thinking themselves insecure in the castle of Kildrummie, which was threatened by the English army, had taken refuge in the sanctuary of St Duthac, at Tain, in Ross-shire, and were treacherously given up to the English by the Earl of Ross, who violated the sanctuary, and made them, and the knights who escorted them, prisoners. These brave men were immediately put to death, and the queen, with her daughter, committed to close confinement in England;† where, in different prisons and castles, they endured an eight-years' captivity. A more severe fate awaited the Countess of Buchan, who had dared to place the king upon the throne, and who was soon after taken. In one of the outer turrets of the castle of Berwick, was constructed a cage, latticed and cross-barred with wood, and secured with iron, in which this unfortunate lady was immured. No person was permitted to speak with her except the women who brought her food, and it was carefully stipulated that these should be of English extraction. Confined in this rigorous manner, and yet subjected to the gaze of every passer by, she remained for four years shut up, till she was released from her misery, and subjected to a milder imprisonment‡ in the monastery of Mount Carmel, in Berwick. Mary and Christina, both sisters to the Scottish king, were soon after made prisoners. Mary was confined in a cage similar to that of the Countess of Buchan, built for her in one

* A daughter of the Earl of Ulster.

† *Fædera*, vol. ii. pp. 1013, 1014. Barbour's *Bruce*, p. 66. Major, p. 181, erroneously says the queen was delivered up by William Comyn. In Rymer, *Fædera*, vol. i. part ii. new edit. p. 767, we find William earl of Ross.

‡ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 85. Trivet, p. 342. Math. West, p. 455. *Notes and Illustrations*, letter W.

of the turrets of Roxburgh castle;* and Christina was delivered to Henry Percy, who shut her up in a convent.

Immediately after the battle of Methven, the troops of the Earl of Pembroke, in scouring the country, took prisoners, Lamberton bishop of St Andrews, and the Abbot of Seone, who were found clad in armour, and conveyed them in fetters to England.† Soon after this, Robert Wishart bishop of Glasgow, who had escaped to the castle of Cupar in Fife, was there taken, and sent fettered, and in his mail coat, to the castle of Nottingham.‡ These clerical champions were saved from the gallows solely by their sacred function. They had strenuously supported Bruce by their great influence, as well as by their money and their armed vassals; and Edward, after commanding them to be imprisoned in irons, within different castles, wrote to the pope, requesting that, in consequence of their treason against him, William Comyn, brother to the Earl of Buchan, and Geoffrey de Mowbray, should be appointed to the vacant sees of St Andrews and Glasgow—a proposal with which his Holiness does not appear to have complied.§

The next victim excited deeper commiseration. Bruce's youthful brother, Nigel, had shut himself up in the castle of Kildrummie, and there defied the English army, commanded by the Earls of Lancaster and Hereford. After a brave defence, the treachery

* *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 1014. She was confined in the cage till 1310, when she was exchanged for nine English prisoners of note in the hands of the Scots. *Rot. Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 86.

† *Math. Westminster*, p. 455.

‡ *Rymer, Fœd.* vol. i. part ii. new edit. p. 996.

§ *Prynne, Edward I.*, p. 1156. The Bishop of St Andrews was confined in the castle of Winchester, the Bishop of Glasgow in the castle of Porchester. *Rymer, Fœd.* p. 996, *ut supra*.

of one of the garrison, who set fire to the magazine of corn, and destroyed their supplies, compelled them to surrender. The beautiful person and engaging manners of Nigel Bruce,* rendered his fate a subject of horror and indignation to the Scots, and excited sentiments of pity in every bosom but that of Edward. He was sent to Berwick, there condemned by a special commission, hanged, and afterwards beheaded.† Along with him divers other knights and soldiers suffered the same fate.‡ Christopher de Seton, who had married a sister of Bruce, and had rendered essential service to the king, took refuge in his castle of Loch Don, in Ayrshire, which is said to have been pusillanimously given up to the English by Sir Gilbert de Carrick.§ Seton, who was a great favourite with the people, was especially obnoxious to Edward, as he had been personally present at the death of Comyn. He was immediately hurried to Dumfries, and condemned and hanged as a traitor. So dear to King Robert was the memory of this faithful friend and fellow warrior, that he afterwards erected on the spot where he was executed a little chapel, where mass was said for his soul.|| Sir Christopher's brother, John de Seton, was taken about the same time, and put to death at Newcastle.

The Earl of Athole, who was allied to the King of England, had been present at the coronation of Bruce, and had fought for him at the battle of Methven. In attempting to escape beyond seas, he was driven back

* Math. Westminster, p. 456, designates him, "*miles pulcherrimæ juventutis.*"

† Barbour, p. 70. Math. Westminster, p. 455.

‡ Scala Chronica, p. 131.

§ Robertson's Index, p. 135-8. Notes and Illustrations, letter X.

|| Stat. Account, vol. v. pp. 141, 142. Leland, Coll. vol. i. part ii. p. 543, in other words the Scala Chronicle is in an error in describing Seton as taken prisoner in Kildrummie castle.

by a tempest, and fell into the hands of the enemy. Edward, on hearing of his being taken, although he then lay dangerously sick, expressed great exultation; and while some interceded for Athole, on account of the royal blood which flowed in his veins, swore, that his only distinction should be a higher gallows than his fellow traitors. Nor was this an empty threat. He was carried to London, tried and condemned in Westminster Hall, and hanged upon a gallows fifty feet high. He was then cut down half dead, his bowels taken out and burnt before his face, and at last beheaded, his head being afterwards placed, amongst those of other Scottish patriots, upon London Bridge.*

Sir Simon Fraser was still free; and the other knights and nobles who had fallen into the hands of Edward, are said to have boasted, that it would require all the efforts of the king to apprehend him. Fraser was a veteran soldier; his life had been spent in war both at home and on the continent, and he enjoyed a high reputation. With a small force which he had collected, he made a last effort for the national liberty at Kirkencliff, near Stirling, but was entirely routed, and forced to surrender himself prisoner to Sir Thomas de Multon. Many knights and squires were taken along with him, whilst others fell on the field, or were drowned in the river.† This warrior enjoyed great popularity in Scotland, as the last friend and follower of Wallace, and the severity, and studied indignity, with which he was treated by Edward, remind us of the trial and execution of that heroic person. He was

* Math. Westminster, p. 456.

† The old contemporary ballad, printed from the Harleian MS. by Pinkerton, in his Maitland Poems, vol. ii. p. 488, says, that Fraser, at the battle of Kirkencliff, beside Stirling, surrendered to Sir Thomas de Multon and to Sir John Jose.

carried to London heavily ironed, with his legs tied under his horse's belly, and, as he passed through the city, a garland of periwinkle was in mockery placed upon his head. He was then lodged in the Tower, along with his squire, Thomas de Boys, and Sir Herbert de Morham, a Scottish knight of French extraction, whose courage and manly deportment are commemorated in a contemporary English ballad. Fraser was tried and condemned, after which he suffered the death of a traitor, with all its circumstances of refined cruelty. He was hanged, cut down when still living, and beheaded; his bowels were then torn out and burned, and his head fixed beside that of Wallace upon London bridge.* The trunk was hung in chains, and strictly guarded, lest his friends should remove it. Herbert de Morham, who had been imprisoned and forfeited in 1297, and liberated under the promise of serving Edward in his Flemish war,† next suffered death, and with him Thomas Boys. To these victims of Edward's resentment we may add the names of Sir David Inchmartin, Sir John de Somerville, Sir Walter Logan, and many others of inferior note. After the disgusting details of these executions, the reader will be disposed to smile at the remark of a late acute historian, that the execution of the Scottish prisoners is insufficient to load Edward's memory with

* Math. Westminster, p. 456.

† Lord Hailes, p. 15, following Math. Westminster, calls him Herebert de Norham; but the contemporary poem above quoted gives his name Herbert de Morham, which is corroborated by Rymer, *Fœdera*, new edit. vol. i. part ii. p. 869. Norham is not in Scotland, but Morham is in Haddingtonshire. Math. Westminster, p. 456, says he was "*Vir cunctis Scotie formosior et statura eminentior.*" Morham parish is the smallest in Haddingtonshire, and belonged, under William the Lyon, to a family named Malherbe, who afterwards assumed the name of Morham. *Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 537. The ancient fortalice of Morham stood on an eminence near the church, but no vestiges of it remain. *Stat. Account*, vol. ii. p. 334.

the charge of cruelty.* To complete the ruin of Bruce, it only remained to dispose of his great estates, and to excommunicate him, as guilty of murder and sacrilege. His lordship of Annandale was bestowed on the Earl of Hereford, his maternal estate of Carrick given to Henry Percy, and the Lord Robert Clifford, with others of Edward's nobles, shared the rich English estates, which had long been hereditary in this powerful family.†

In the end of February, the Cardinal St Sabinus, the legate of the pope in England, with great pomp repaired to Carlisle, in which city Edward then kept his head-quarters, and with all those circumstances of terror which such a sentence involved, the Scottish king and his adherents were excommunicated by book, bell, and candle.‡

Meanwhile, out of the reach of the papal thunder, and ignorant of the miserable fate of his friends, Bruce, during the winter, remained in the little isle of Rachrin. On the approach of spring, having received some assistance from Christina of the Isles, he began to meditate a descent upon Scotland, and first despatched Sir James Douglas and Sir Robert Boyd on an adventure to the island of Arran. Douglas found it occupied by Sir John Hastings, an English knight, who held the castle of Brodick with a strong garrison; and having laid an ambuscade, he had the good fortune to surprise the under-warden of the castle, and, after killing forty of his soldiers, to make himself master of a valuable cargo of provisions, arms, and clothing. This proved a seasonable supply to the king, who soon after arrived from Rachrin with a fleet of thirty-three

* See Notes and Illustrations, letter Y. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 236.

† Hemingford, p. 224.

‡ Ibid. p. 226.

galleys, and in his company about three hundred men. Ignorant of the situation of the enemy, he first despatched a messenger from Arran into his own country of Carrick, with instructions, if he found the people well affected, to light a fire, at a day appointed, upon an eminence near Turnberry castle. When the day arrived, Bruce, who watched in extreme anxiety for the signal, about noon perceived a light in the expected direction, and instantly embarked, steering, as night came on, by the light of the friendly beacon.* Meanwhile, his messenger had also seen the fire, and dreading that his master might embark, hastened to the beach, where, on meeting his friends, he informed them that Lord Percy, with a strong garrison, held the castle of Turnberry, that parties of the enemy were quartered in the town, and there was no hope of success. "Traitor," said the king, "why did you light the fire?"—"I lighted no fire," he replied; "but observing it at nightfall, I dreaded you might embark, and hastened to meet you." Placed in this dilemma, Bruce questioned his friends what were best to be done; and his brother, Sir Edward, declared loudly, that he would follow up his adventure, and that no power or peril should induce him to re-embark. This was said in the true spirit of a knight errant; but his royal brother, who was playing a game of which the stake was a kingdom, might be allowed to hesitate. His naturally fearless and sanguine temper, however, got the better; and dismissing caution, he determined to remain, and, as it was still night, to attack the English quarters. The plan succeeded. The enemy, cantoned in careless security, in the houses and hamlets round the castle of Turnberry, were easily sur-

* Barbour, pp. 83, 84.

prised and put to the sword; while Percy, hearing the tumult, and ignorant of the small number of the Scots, did not dare to attempt a rescue, but shutting himself up in the castle, left a rich booty to the assailants, amongst which were his war-horses and his household plate.*

There was a romantic interest about Bruce's fortunes, which had a powerful effect upon the female mind, and the hero himself seems to have been willing to avail himself of this influence.† He had already received assistance from the Countess of Buchan and Christina of the Isles; and now, on hearing of his success in Carrick, he was joined by a lady, nearly related to him, but whose name has been lost. She brought him, however, a seasonable supply of money and provisions, and a reinforcement of forty men. From her, too, he first learnt the miserable fate of Seton, Athole, and the garrison of Kildrummie; and, during the recital, is said to have vowed deeply that their deaths should not go unrevenged.

Meanwhile his success spread a panic among the English; for although Ayr castle was in the hands of Edward, neither its garrison nor that of Turnberry, under Percy, dared to make head against him. At length, Sir Roger St John marched from Northumberland with a body of a thousand men; covered by this force, Henry Percy, with the remains of his garrison, evacuated Turnberry, and hurried into England;‡ whilst Bruce, unable to oppose St John, retired into the mountainous parts of Carrick. Here the adventurous spirit of James Douglas could not long remain inactive. He knew that Lord Clifford, on whom

* Hemmingford, vol. i. p. 225.

† Barbour, p. 105, line 541.

‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 95. Trivet, p. 344.

Edward had bestowed his hereditary domain, held his castle of Douglas with a strong garrison; and having obtained the king's permission, he travelled in disguise into Douglasdale, and, after carefully observing the strength and position of the enemy, discovered himself to Dickson, a faithful servant, in whose house he lay concealed. Here, night after night, did his principal vassals assemble, rejoiced again to find the son of their old lord; and thus, unknown to the English, a little band of determined foes was nursed amongst them, who watched every step they took, and were ready to fall upon them the first moment that promised an advantage. This soon presented itself. The garrison, on Palm Sunday, marched out to the neighbouring church of St Bride, leaving the castle undefended. Some of Douglas's followers, with concealed arms, entered the church along with them, and in a moment when they least suspected, the English heard the cry of "Douglas!" and found themselves attacked both from without and within. After a stout resistance, and much bloodshed, the church was won and many prisoners taken. Having thus cut off the garrison, Douglas first plundered the castle of the arms and valuables which could be carried off. This done, he raised a huge pile of the malt and corn which he found in the stores, staved the casks of wine and other liquors, and threw them on the heap, after which he slew his prisoners, and cast their dead bodies on the pile. He then set fire to this savage hecatomb, and consumed it and the halls of his fathers in the blaze.*

* Hume's *House of Douglas and Angus*, vol. i. pp. 50, 51. Barbour, pp. 100, 101. Lord Hailes, vol. ii. p. 20, makes Barbour say, that "about ten persons were made prisoners in the chapel, whom Douglas put to death." I fear, from the expressions of this historian, many more than ten persons were slain in the *Douglas' Larder*.

This cruel transaction, which is said to have been intended as a sacrifice to the manes of his faithful servant Dickson, who was slain in the church, is still remembered in the tradition of the country by the name of the Douglas' Larder.

This success, however, was more than balanced by a grievous disaster which about this time befell Bruce. He had despatched his brothers, Thomas and Alexander, into Ireland, where they had the good fortune to collect a force of seven hundred men, with which they crossed over to Loch Ryan in Galloway. But their approach to the coast had been watched by Macdowall, a chieftain of that country, who was in the English interest, and as they attempted to make good a landing, he attacked, and completely routed their little army. Many perished in the sea, and the rest were either slain or taken prisoners. Of the prisoners, those of note were Bruce's brothers, Thomas and Alexander, with Sir Reginald Crawford, who were all grievously wounded. Malcolm Mackail lord of Kentire, along with two Irish reguli or chiefs, were found amongst the slain. Macdowall, with savage exultation, cut off their heads, and presented them, and his illustrious prisoners, bleeding and almost dead, to the king at Carlisle.* Edward commanded the two Bruces and Crawford to be instantly executed. Thus, within a few short months, had the king to lament the cruel death of three brothers, that of his dear friends, Seton, Athole, and Fraser; besides the imprisonment of his queen and his daughter.

* Math. Westminster, pp. 457, 458. Hemingford, p. 225. Langtoft, with less probability, asserts, that Macdowall surprised the two Bruces and their soldiers, on Ash Wednesday, when returning from church, vol. ii. p. 337. The Macdowalls were anciently the most powerful family in Galloway. In Dugdale's Monasticon, vol. ii. p. 1057, we find Roland Macdowall, in 1190, styled "Princeps Gallovidiæ."

Deprived of this reinforcement, the king began to be in great difficulties. The English hotly pursued him, and even had the meanness to lay plots for his assassination, whilst the Galwegians endeavoured to hunt him down with bloodhounds.* On one of these occasions, when only sixty soldiers were in his company, he made a narrow escape. It was near night-fall, when his scouts informed him that a force of two hundred soldiers were on the way to attack them. He instantly crossed a mountain river hard by, of which the banks were steep and wooded, and drew up his men in a swampy level about two bowshots off. He then commanded them to lie still, while he and Sir Gilbert de la Haye went forward to reconnoitre. The ground was well fitted for defence. A steep path led up from the brink of the river to the summit of the bank, and Bruce took his stand at the gorge, where it was so narrow that the superior numbers of the enemy gave them little advantage. Here he listened for some time, till at length the baying of a hound told him of the approach of the Galwegians; and by the light of the moon he could see their band crossing the river, and pressing up the path. He instantly despatched De la Haye to rouse and bring up his little force, whilst he remained alone to defend the pass. The fierce mountaineers were soon upon him; but, although mounted and armed after their own fashion, they stood little chance against so powerful an adversary as Bruce, clothed in steel, and having the advantage of the ground. One only could attack him at a time; and as he pressed boldly, but blindly forward, he was transfixed in a moment by the spear; whilst his horse, borne down to the earth, and instantly stabbed, blocked up the

* Barbour, pp. 103, 111

path in such a way that the next soldier must charge over his body. He, too, with many of his companions, successively, but vainly, endeavoured to carry the pass. They were met by the dreadful sword of the king, which swept round on every side. Numbers now fell, and formed a ghastly barrier around him; so that, on the approach of his men, the Gálwegians drew off, and gave up the pursuit. When the soldiers came up, they found Bruce wearied, but unwounded, and sitting on a bank, where he had cast off his helmet to wipe his brow, and cool himself in the night air. In this manner, partly by his own valour, and partly from the private information which he received from those kindly disposed to him, he escaped the various toils with which he was beset; and as he still counted amongst his party some of the bravest and most adventurous soldiers in Scotland, it often happened, that when his fortunes seemed sinking to the lowest ebb, some auspicious adventure occurred, which reanimated the hopes of the party, and encouraged them to persevere. The castle of Douglas had been rebuilt by the English. It was again attacked by its terrible master, the “Good Sir James;” and although he failed in getting it into his hands, its captain was slain and a great part of its garrison put to the sword;* after which, having heard that the Earl of Pembroke, with a large force, was marching against the king, who still lay in the mountainous parts of Carrick, Douglas joined his sovereign, and awaited their advance.

Bruce had now been well trained. He was familiarly acquainted with this partisan kind of warfare; and it was his custom, when keenly pursued, to make his soldiers disperse in small companies, first appoint-

* Barbour, p. 122.

ing a place of rendezvous, where they should reassemble when the danger was over. Trusting to this plan, and to his own personal courage and skill, he did not hesitate, with only four hundred men, to await the attack of Pembroke's army, which had been reinforced, by John of Lorn, with eight hundred Highlanders, familiar with war in a mountainous country, and well trained to act in the moors and morasses of this wild region. Lorn is, moreover, reported to have taken along with him a large bloodhound, which had once belonged to the king, and whose instinctive attachment was thus meanly employed against its oldmaster.* The Highland chief contrived so successfully to conceal his men, that Bruce, whose attention was fixed chiefly on Pembroke's force, found his position unexpectedly attacked by Lorn in the rear, and by the English, with whom was his own nephew, Randolph, in the front. His brother, Edward Bruce, and Sir James Douglas, were now with him; and, after making head for a short time, they divided their little force into three companies, and dispersed amongst the mountains. He trusted that he might thus have a fairer chance of escape; but the bloodhound instantly fell upon the tract of the king; and the treacherous Lorn with his mountaineers had almost run him down, when the animal was transfixed by an arrow from one of the fugitives, and Bruce with great difficulty escaped.† In this pursuit, it is said, that with his own hand he slew five of the enemy; which, as the men of Lorn were probably half naked and ill-armed mountaineers, who had to measure weapons with an adversary fully accoutred, and of uncommon personal strength, is in no respect unlikely to be true. Bruce, however, had

* Barbour, p. 124.

† Ibid. pp. 129, 132.

the misfortune to lose his banner, which was taken by Randolph, then fighting in the ranks of the English.* It was an age of chivalrous adventure; the circumstances in which the king was placed, when related even in the simplest manner, are marked by a deep and romantic interest; and, renouncing everything in the narrative of his almost contemporary biographer, which looks like poetical embellishment, the historian must be careful to omit no event which is consistent with the testimony of authentic writers, with the acknowledged prowess of this great man, and the character of the times in which he lived.

Not long after this adventure, Bruce attacked and put to the sword a party of two hundred English soldiers, carelessly cantoned at a small distance from the main army; and the Earl of Pembroke, after an unsuccessful skirmish in Glentruel, where the wooded and marshy nature of the country incapacitated his cavalry from acting with effect, became disgusted with his ill success, and retreated to Carlisle.† The king instantly came down upon the plains of Ayrshire—made himself master of the strengths of the country—and reduced the whole of Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham, to his obedience; while Sir James Douglas, ever on the alert, attacked and discomfited Sir Philip Mowbray,‡ who, with a thousand men, was marching from Bothwell into Kyle, and with difficulty escaped to the castle of Innerkip, then held by an English garrison. By these fortunate events, the followers of Bruce were inspired with that happy confidence in his skill and courage, which, even in the very different

* Barbour, pp. 129, 132.

† Ibid. p. 149.

‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 153. Major, with more probability, I think, calls him John Mowbray. In Rymer, we meet with a John, but not with a Philip Mowbray, amongst Edward's barons.—Rymer, vol. i. p. 2, new edit. p. 966.

warfare of our own days, is one principal cause of success ; and he soon found his little army reinforced by such numbers, that he determined, on the first opportunity, to try his strength against the English in an open field.

Nor was this opportunity long of presenting itself. The Earl of Pembroke, in the beginning of May, and soon after the defeat of Mowbray, advanced, with a body of men-at-arms into Ayrshire, and came up with the enemy at Loudon Hill. It is said, that, in the spirit of the times, Pembroke challenged the Scottish king to give him battle ; and that, having sent word that he intended to march by Loudon Hill, Bruce, who was then with his little army at Galston, conceiving the ground to be as favourable as could be chosen, agreed to meet him at Loudon Hill on the 10th of May. The road, at that part of Loudon Hill where he determined to wait the advance of the English, led through a piece of dry level ground about five hundred yards in breadth, which was bounded on both sides by extensive morasses ; but, deeming that this open space would give the English cavalry too much room to act, he took the precaution to secure his flanks by three parallel lines of deep trenches, which he drew on either hand from the morasses to the road, leaving an interval sufficient for the movements of a battalion of six hundred spearmen, the whole available force which Bruce could then bring into the field. A rabble of ill-armed countrymen and camp-followers were stationed, with his baggage, in the rear.* Early in the morning, the king, who was on the watch, descried the advance of

* The account of this battle is taken entirely from Barbour, p. 155. The English historians all allow that Pembroke was beaten, but give no particulars.

Pembroke, whose force he knew amounted to three thousand cavalry. Their appearance, with the sun gleaming upon the coat armour of the knights, the steel harness of the horses, and the pennons and banners, of various colours, waving above the wood of spears, was splendid and imposing, contrasted with Bruce's small force.* Yet, confident in the strength of his position, he calmly awaited their attack. The result entirely justified his expectations, and proved how dreadful a weapon the long Scottish spear might be made, when skilfully directed and used against cavalry. Pembroke had divided his force into two lines; and, by his orders, the first line put their spears in rest, and charged the battalion of the Scots at full gallop. But they made no impression. The Scottish soldiers stood perfectly firm; many of the English were unhorsed and slain; and, in a short time, the first division, thrown into disorder, fell back upon the second, which in its turn, as the Scots steadily advanced with their extended spears, began to waver, to break, and at last to fly. Bruce was not slow to follow up his advantage, and completely dispersed the enemy, but without much slaughter or many prisoners, the Scots having no force in cavalry. The victory, however, had the best effect. Pembroke retired to the castle of Ayr. The Scottish army acquired additional confidence: its ranks were every day recruited; and, awaking from their foolish dreams of confidence and superiority, the English began to feel and to dread the great military talents which the king had acquired during the constant perils to which he had been exposed. Only three days after the retreat of Pembroke, he attacked, and with great slaughter defeated, Ralph

* Barbour, p. 157.

Monthermer earl of Gloucester, another of Edward's captains, whom he so hotly pursued, that he compelled him to shut himself up in the castle of Ayr, to which he immediately laid siege.* These repeated successes greatly incensed Edward; and, although much debilitated by illness, he summoned his whole military vassals to meet him at Carlisle, three weeks after the Feast of John the Baptist, and determined to march in person against his enemies. Persuading himself that the virulence of his disease was abated, he offered up the litter, in which hitherto he had been carried, in the cathedral at Carlisle, and mounting on horseback, proceeded with his army towards Scotland. But his strength rapidly sunk. In four days he proceeded only six miles; and, after reaching the small village of Burgh-upon-Sands, he expired on the 7th of July, 1307,† leaving the mighty projects of his ambition, and the uneasy task of opposing Bruce, to a successor whose character was in every way the opposite of his father's. The last request of the dying monarch was characteristic. He commanded that his heart should be conveyed to Jerusalem, and that his body, after having been reduced to a skeleton, by a process which, if we may credit Froissart, the king himself described,‡ should be carried along with the army into Scotland, there to remain unburied till that devoted country was entirely subdued.

* *Scala Chronica*, p. 132. *Math. Westminster*, p. 458. *Trivet*, p. 346. *Hemingford*, vol. i. p. 237.

† *Rymer, Fœd.* p. 1018, vol. i. part ii. new edit. *Prynne's Ed.* I., p. 1202.

‡ *Froissart*, vol. i. chap. xxvii. When dying he made his eldest son be called, and caused him, in the presence of his barons, and invoking all the saints, to swear that, as soon as he was dead, he would boil his body in a caldron, till the flesh was separated from the bones, after which, he should bury the flesh, but keep the bones; and as often as the Scots rose in rebellion against him, he should assemble his army, and carry with him the bones of his father.

Edward the Second, who succeeded to the crown of England in his twenty-fourth year, was little calculated to carry into effect the mighty designs of his predecessor. His character was weak, irresolute and headstrong; and the first steps which he took evinced a total want of respect for the dying injunctions of his father. He committed his body to the royal sepulchre at Westminster—he recalled from banishment Piers Gaveston, his profligate favourite; and after receiving at Roxburgh the homage of some of the Scottish barons in the interest of England, he pushed forward as far as Cumnock, on the borders of Ayrshire—appointed the Earl of Pembroke Guardian of Scotland—and, without striking a blow, speedily returned into his own dominions.*

Upon the retreat of the English, the king, and his brother Sir Edward Bruce, at the head of a powerful army, broke in upon Galloway, and commanded the inhabitants to rise and join his banner. Where this order was disobeyed, the lands were given up to military execution; and Bruce, who had not forgotten the defeat and death of his two brothers by the men of this wild district, laid waste the country with fire and sword, and permitted every species of plunder,† in a spirit of cruel, but, according to the sentiments of that age, not unnatural retaliation.

* Hemingford, p. 238, vol. i. Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 224. On Edward's coming to Carlisle, he was met by Patrick earl of Dunbar, who swore homage to him. Tyrrel is in a mistake, in saying he quitted King Robert's interest. He had never joined it. Hemingford erroneously states that Edward only advanced to Roxburgh, and then returned. After the death of Edward the First, we unfortunately lose the valuable and often characteristic historian, Peter Langtoft, as translated by Robert de Brunne, one of Hearne's valuable publications. Edward the Second was, on 6th August, at Dumfries; on 28th August, at Cumnock; on 30th, same month, at Tinswald and Dalgarnock. On his return south, on 4th September, at Carlisle; on 6th, at Bowes in Yorkshire.

† Chron. Lanercost. pp. 210, 212. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 14.

Governed by caprice, and perpetually changing his councils, the King of England removed Pembroke from the guardianship of Scotland, and in his place appointed John de Bretagne earl of Richmond, and nephew of the late king.* Full power was intrusted to him over all ranks of persons; the sheriffs of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, were commanded to assemble the whole military force of their respective counties, under the orders of the guardian; the Earl of Dunbar, Robert de Keith, Alexander de Abernethy, and several other powerful barons, as well English as Scottish, were enjoined to march along with the English army, and to rescue Galloway from the ravages of Bruce; while orders were issued to the sheriffs of London, for the transporting to Berwick the provisions, military stores, and arms requisite for the troops, with certain large cross-bows, called *balistæ de turno*, employed in the attack and defence of fortified places.†

At the head of this army, the Earl of Richmond attacked Bruce, and compelled him to retreat to the north of Scotland.‡ His brother, Edward Bruce, the Earl of Lennox, Sir Gilbert de la Haye, and Sir Robert Boyd, accompanied the king, but Sir James Douglas remained in the south, for the purpose of reducing the forest of Selkirk, and Jedburgh.§ On reaching the

* *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 10.

† *Ibid.* pp. 14, 16.

‡ An anonymous MS. Chronicle, quoted by Tyrrrel, vol. iii. p. 225, asserts, that John of Bretagne, with an army, attacked King Robert about Martinmas, put his forces to flight, and compelled him to retreat to the bogs and mountains. No other English historian, however, records this defeat, and neither Barbour nor Fordun say a word of the matter. Ker plausibly conjectures, that Robert only retreated before an army greatly superior to his own; and Barbour represents the king's expedition into the north, not as the consequence of any defeat, but as the result of a plan for the reduction of the northern parts of Scotland.

§ Barbour, p. 162.

Mounth, the name anciently given to that part of the Grampian chain which extends from the borders of the district called the Mearns to Loch Rannach, Bruce was joined by Sir Alexander Fraser, along with his brother, with all their power; and from them he learnt, that Comyn, the Earl of Buchan, with his own nephew, Sir David de Brechin, and Sir John Mowbray, were assembling their vassals, and had determined to attack him. This news was the more unwelcome, as a grievous distemper began at this time to prey upon the king, depriving him of his strength and appetite, and for a time leaving little hopes of his recovery. As the soldiers of Bruce were greatly dispirited at the sickness of the king, Edward, his brother, deemed it prudent to avoid a battle, and entrenched himself in a strong position near Slaines, on the north coast of Aberdeenshire.

After some slight skirmishes between the archers of both armies, which ended in nothing decisive, provisions began to fail; and as the troops of Buchan daily increased, the Scots retired to Strabogy, carrying their king, who was still too weak to mount his horse, in a litter.* From this last station, as their royal charge began slowly to recover his strength, the Scots returned to Inverury; while the Earl of Buchan, with a body of about a thousand men, advanced to Old Meldrum, and Sir David de Brechin pushed on with a small party, and suddenly attacked and put to flight, some of Robert's soldiers, carelessly cantoned in the outskirts of the town.† Bruce took this as a military affront, and instantly rising from his litter, called for his horse and arms. His friends remonstrated, but

* Barbour, pp. 170, 171.

† Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1004. Barbour, p. 172. It is said that the town of Inverury, received its charter as a royal burgh from the king after this victory. Stat. Acc. vol. vii. p. 331.

the king mounted on horseback, and although so weak as to be supported by two men on each side, he led on his soldiers in person, and instantly attacking the Earl of Buchan with great fury,* routed and dispersed his army, pursuing them as far as Fivry, on the borders of Buchan. Brechin fled to Angus, and shut himself up in his own castle of Brechin, which was soon after besieged and taken by the Earl of Athole, whose father had been executed in England. Into Buchan, the territory of Comyn, his mortal enemy, Bruce now marched, and took ample revenge for all the injuries he had sustained, wasting it with fire, and delivering it over to unbridled military execution. Barbour informs us, that for fifty years after, men spoke with terror of the *harrying of Buchan*; and it is singular that, at this day, the oaks which are turned up in the mosses, bear upon their trunks the blackened marks of being scathed with fire.†

The army of the king now rapidly increased, as his character for success and military talent became daily more conspicuous. His nephew, Sir David de Brechin, having been pardoned and admitted to favour, joined him about this time with his whole force, and pursuing his advantage, he laid siege to the castle of Aberdeen.‡ Edward was now at Windsor, and, alarmed at such progress, he despatched an expedition to raise the siege of Aberdeen, and commanded the different seaports to fit out a fleet, which should co-operate with his land-forces. But these preparations were too late; for the citizens of Aberdeen, who had early distinguished

* Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. ut supra. Barbour, p. 174.

† Statistical Account, vol. xi. p. 420.

‡ The battle of Inverury was fought on the 22d May, 1308, and Edward's letter for the relief of Aberdeen is dated the 10th July, 1308. Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 55.

themselves in the war of liberty, and were warmly attached to the cause, encouraged by the presence of the royal army, and assisted by some of its best leaders, assaulted and carried the castle by storm, expelled the English, and levelled the fortifications with the ground.

From Aberdeen the king held his victorious progress into Angus; and here new success awaited him, in the capture of the castle of Forfar, at this time strongly garrisoned by the English. It was taken by escalade during the night, by a soldier named Philip the forester of Platane, who put all the English to the sword; and the king, according to his usual policy, instantly commanded the fortifications to be destroyed.*

The vicinity of Bruce's army now threatened the important station of Perth, and the English king, in undissembled alarm, wrote to the citizens, extolling their steady attachment to his interest, and commanding them to fortify their town against his enemies.† Ever varying in his councils, Edward soon after this dismissed the Earl of Richmond from his office of Governor of Scotland, and appointed in his place, as joint guardians, Robert de Umfraville earl of Angus, William de Ross of Hamlake, and Henry de Beaumont.‡ John Comyn earl of Buchan, and various other Scottish barons, still attached to the English interest, were commanded to retain the charge of the various districts already intrusted to their care, and

* Barbour, p. 175. This is the same as the forest of Plater. It was not far from Finhaven; and the office of forester proves Philip to have been a man of some consequence, as, by a charter of Robert II., we find a grant of the lands of Fothnevy (Finhaven) to Alexander de Lindsay, with the office of forester of the forest of Plater, which David de Annand resigned. Alexander de Lindsay was a baron of a noble family. Jamieson's Notes to the Bruce, p. 446.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 56.

‡ Ibid.

in order to encourage them in their attachment, the king intimated his intention of leading an army into Scotland in the month of August, and directed his chamberlain Cotesbache to lay in provisions for the troops; but the intended expedition never proceeded farther. The orders to Cotesbache, which are contained in the *Fœdera*, acquaint us with an early source of Scottish wealth. Three thousand salted salmon were to be furnished to the army.*

Satisfied for the present with his northern successes, Bruce despatched his brother Edward into Galloway. This district continued obstinately to resist his authority, and was at present occupied by the English troops under the command of Sir Ingram de Umfraville, a Scottish baron, who, in 1305, had embraced the English interest,† and Sir John de St John. Umfraville and St John, assisted by Donegal, or Dougal,‡ probably the same powerful chieftain, who, in a former year, had defeated Bruce's brothers, collected a force of twelve hundred men, and encountered Edward Bruce at the Water of Crie. The English and the Galwegians, however, were unable to withstand the attack of the Scots. Their ranks were immediately thrown into confusion, two hundred were left dead on the field,

* *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 95.

† *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 56.

‡ It seems probable that Donegal, Dongall, Donald, and Dougal, are all the same name. These Macdowalls were probably descended from the Lords of the Isles, who were Lords of Galloway; and the bitter hatred which they seem to have entertained against Bruce, originated in all probability from the circumstance, that David the youngest son of Malcom III, when he possessed Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the whole of Scotland south of the Forth and the Clyde, except the earldom of Dunbar, bestowed the heiress of Ananderdale, in Galloway, upon Robert de Brus, a Norman baron, and the ancestor of the royal family. The kingdom of Galloway contained Ananderdale and Carrick; and hence these proud Galwegian princes considered the Bruces from the first as strangers and intruders, who had wrested from them part of their hereditary dominions. See Macpherson's *Geographical Illustrations of Scottish History*, sub voce Galloway.

and the rest dispersed amongst the mountains; while Umfraville, with his companion St John, with difficulty escaped to Butel, a castle on the sea-coast of Galloway.*

After this successful commencement, Edward Bruce overran the country, compelled the inhabitants to swear allegiance to his brother, levied heavy contributions, and had already taken and destroyed many of the castles of that wild district, when he received intelligence that John de St John was again in Galloway, at the head of fifteen hundred men. Upon his near approach, Bruce discovered, by his scouts, that it was the design of the English to make a forced march, and attack him by surprise. The courage of this brave soldier, bordering on temerity, now impelled him to an attempt, which many would have pronounced desperate. He stationed his foot soldiers in a straight valley, strongly fortified by nature,† and, early in the morning, under the cover of a thick mist, with fifty knights and gentlemen, well armed and mounted, he made a retrograde movement, and gained the rear of the English, without being perceived by them. Following their line of march about a bow-shot off, his intention seems to have been, to have allowed St John to attack his infantry, and then to have charged them in the rear; but before this could be effected, the mist suddenly cleared away, and Bruce's little party were discovered when retreat was impossible. In this des-

* Ker's Bruce, vol. i. p. 345.

† "His small folk gait he ilk deil,
Withdraw thaim *till a strait tharby*,

And he raid furth with his fifty."—Barbour, p. 183.

"Withdraw thaim till a strait tharby." Lord Hailes, and Ker, p. 346, from this expression, conclude that Bruce made his infantry cast up intrenchments. But for this there is no authority. He ordered his men merely to withdraw into a strait, or, in other words, made them take up a position in narrow ground.

perate situation, Edward hesitated not to charge the English, which he did with so much fury, that their ranks were shaken, and many of their cavalry unhorsed. Before they could recover so far as to discern the insignificant numbers of their enemy, he made a second, and soon after a third charge, so sharp and well sustained, that the confusion became general and irretrievable; and believing, probably, that the Scottish troop was only the advance of a greater force, the English broke away in a panic, and were entirely routed. Sir Alan de Cathcart, one of Edward Bruce's companions in this spirited enterprise, recounted the particulars to Barbour, the affectionate biographer of Bruce, who characterizes it in simple but energetic language as a right fair point of chivalry.* This, however, was not the only success. Donald of the Isles collecting a large force of his Galwegian infantry, and, assisted by Sir Roland of Galloway,† and other fierce chiefs of that district, made head against the royalists; but Edward Bruce, flushed with his recent victories, encountered them on the banks of the Dee, dispersed their army, with the slaughter of Roland and many of the chiefs, and in the pursuit took prisoner the Prince of the Isles.‡ This defeat, which happened on the 29th of June 1308, led to the entire expulsion of the English. It is said, that in a single year, this ardent and indefatigable captain besieged and took thirteen castles and inferior strengths in Galloway, and completely reduced the country under the dominion of the king.§

* Barbour, p. 183.

† "Quendam militem nomine Rolandum." In Rymer, vol. i. new edition, part ii. p. 772, we find mention made of Rolandus Galwalensis Dominus. This Roland may have been the grandson of Roland prince of Galloway.

‡ Fordun a Hearne, p. 1005.

§ Barbour, p. 186.

During these repeated victories of his brother, Bruce received intelligence, that his indefatigable partisan, Sir James Douglas, having cut off the garrison of Douglas castle, which he had decoyed into an ambuscade, had slain the governor, Sir John de Webeton, compelled the castle to surrender, and entirely destroyed the fortifications.* Douglas soon after reduced to obedience the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh; and, during his warfare in those parts, had the good fortune to surprise and take prisoners, Thomas Randolph the king's nephew, and Alexander Stewart of Bonkill, both of whom were still attached to the English interest.† Douglas, to whom Stewart was nearly related, treated his noble prisoners with kindness, and soon after conducted Randolph to the king. "Nephew," said Bruce, "you have for a while forgotten your allegiance, but now you must be reconciled."—"I have been guilty of nothing whereof I need be ashamed," answered Randolph. "You arraign my conduct; it is yourself who ought to be arraigned. Since you have chosen to defy the King of England, why is it that you debate not the matter like a true knight in a pitched field?"—"That," said Bruce, with great calmness. "may come hereafter, and it may be ere long. Meantime, since thou art so rude of speech, it is fitting thy proud words meet their due punishment, till thou knowest better my right and thine own duty." Having thus spoken, he ordered Randolph into close confinement.‡ It is pleasing to know that this lesson had its effect; for, after a short imprisonment, the young baron joined the party of the king,

* Barbour, pp. 163, 164. I conjecture that the baron, whom Barbour calls Sir John of Webeton, was Johannes de Wanton, one of Edward's barons, mentioned in Rymer, vol. i. p. 630, new edition.

† Barbour, pp. 187, 188.

‡ Ibid. p. 189.

who created him Earl of Moray. Nor had he any reason to repent his forgiveness or generosity. Randolph soon displayed high talents for war ; he became one of the most illustrious of Bruce's assistants in the liberation of his country, and ever after served his royal master with unshaken fidelity.

The king had never forgotten the attack made upon him by the Lord of Lorn, soon after the defeat at Methven, and he was now able to requite that fierce chief for the extremities to which he had then reduced him. Accordingly, after the junction of Douglas with his veteran soldiers, he invaded the territory of Lorn, and arrived at a narrow and dangerous pass, which runs along the bottom of Cruachin Ben, a high and rugged mountain, between Loch Awe and Loch Etive. The common people of Scotland were now, without much exception, on the side of Bruce ; and although, in many districts, when kept down by their lords, they dared not join him openly, yet in conveying intelligence of the motions and intentions of his enemies, they were of essential service to the cause. In this manner he seems to have been informed, that an ambuscade had been laid for him by the men of Lorn, in the Pass of Cruachin Ben, through which he intended to march. The Lord of Lorn himself remained with his galleys, in Loch Etive, and waited the result. The nature of the ground was highly favourable for this design of Lorn ; but it was entirely defeated by the dispositions of Bruce. Having divided his army into two parts, he ordered Douglas, along with one division, consisting entirely of archers, who were lightly armed, to make a circuit round the mountain, and to take possession of the rugged high ground above the Highlanders. Along with Douglas, were

Sir Andrew Gray, Sir Alexander Fraser, and Sir William Wiseman. This manœuvre was executed with complete success; and the king, having entered the pass, was, in its narrow gorge, immediately attacked by the men of Lorn, who, with loud shouts, hurled down stones upon him, and after discharging their missiles, rushed on to a nearer attack. But their opponent, whose soldiers were light-armed, and prepared for what occurred, met his enemies more than half-way; and, not content with receiving their charge, assaulted them with great fury. Meanwhile Douglas had gained the high ground, and discharging a shower of arrows, attacked the Highlanders in the rear, and threw them into complete disorder. After a stout resistance, the men of Lorn were defeated with great slaughter; and their chief, the Lord of Lorn, had the mortification, from his galleys, to be an eye-witness of the utter rout of his army.*

He immediately fled to his castle of Dunstaffnage; and Bruce, after having ravaged the territory of Lorn, and delivered it to indiscriminate plunder, laid close siege to this palace of the Island Prince, which was strongly situated upon the sea-coast. In a short time the Lord of Lorn surrendered his castle, and swore homage to the king; but his son, John of Lorn, fled to his ships, and continued in the service of England.†

Whilst everything went thus successfully in the field, the Scottish king derived great advantage from the fluctuating and capricious line of policy which was

* Barbour, pp. 191, 192. 23d August, 1308.

† Ibid. p. 192. Fordun & Hearne, p. 1005. Fordun says that Alexander of Argyle fled to England, where he soon after died, and Lord Hailes follows his narrative; but it is contradicted by Barbour, who is an earlier authority than Fordun. John of Argyle was with his men and his ships in the service of Edward the Second on 4th October, 1308. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, m. 13, p. 58.

pursued by his opponent. In less than a year Edward appointed six different governors in Scotland;* and to none of these persons, however high their talents, was there afforded sufficient time to organize, or carry into effect, any regular plan of military operations. His enemy, on the other hand, betrayed no want of activity, and about this time laid siege to Rutherglen, in Clydesdale—a castle considered of such importance by Edward, that he despatched Gilbert de Clare earl of Gloucester, with a strong force, to raise the siege; but either the expedition never departed, or it was too late in its arrival; for Rutherglen, in the beginning of the next year, appears to have been one of the castles in the hands of the Scots.† Indeed, Edward's measures seem to have mostly evaporated in orders and preparations, whilst he himself, occupied with the pleasures of the court, and engrossed by his infatuated fondness for his favourite Piers Gaveston, dreamt little of taking the field. Alarmed at last by the near approach of the Scottish army to the English border, he consented to accept the mediation of Philip king of France, who despatched Oliver de Roches to treat with Bruce, and Lamberton bishop of St Andrews, upon measures preparatory to a reconciliation. This able and intriguing prelate, on renewing his homage to the English king, had been liberated from his imprisonment, and permitted to return to Scotland; but his fellow prisoner, Wishart the bishop of Glasgow, considered too devoted to his country, was still kept in close confinement. De Roches' negotiation was soon followed by the arrival of the king's brother,

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 94, 160, 161. This last deed ought to have been dated 16th August, 1308, instead of 1309.

† *Rotuli Scotiæ*, m. 12, p. 60. See Notes and Illustrations, letter Z.

Lewis count of Evreux, and Guy bishop of Soissons, as ambassadors, earnestly persuading to peace; commissioners from both countries were in consequence appointed, and a truce was concluded, which, if we may believe Edward, was ill observed by the Scots.* A trifling discovery of an intercepted letter clearly showed that the King of France secretly favoured the Scottish king. The *Sieur de Varrennes*, Philip's ambassador at the English court, openly sent a letter to Bruce under the title of the Earl of Carrick; but he intrusted to the same bearer secret despatches, which were addressed to the King of Scots. Edward dissembled his indignation, and contented himself with a complaint against the duplicity of such conduct.†

Nearly a whole year after this appears to have been spent by this monarch in a vacillating and contradictory policy with regard to Scotland, which was calculated to give every advantage to so able an adversary as Bruce. Orders for the muster of his army, which were disobeyed by some of his most powerful barons—commissions to his generals to proceed against his enemies, which were countermanded, or never acted upon—promises to take the field in person, which were broken almost as soon as made—directions, at one time, to his lieutenant in Scotland, to prosecute the war with the greatest vigour, and these in a few days succeeded by a command to conclude, and even, if required, to purchase a truce;‡—such is the picture

* Rymer, vol. iii. p. 147, 30th July, 1309. Tyrrel asserts, vol. iii. p. 235, that the Scots broke the truce at the instigation of the King of France, but, does not give his authority.

† Rymer, vol. iii. p. 150. The King of France himself, in writing to Edward, speaks of the "King of Scots and his subjects," *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 215.

‡ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 246. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 71.

of the imbecility of the English king, as presented by the public records of the time.

To this everything in Scotland offered a striking contrast. Towards the end of the year 1309, on the 24th February, the prelates and clergy of Scotland held a general council at Dundee, and declared, that Robert lord of Annandale, the competitor, ought, by the ancient laws and customs of that country, to have been preferred to Baliol in the competition for the crown; for which reason, they unanimously recognised Robert Bruce, then reigning, as their lawful sovereign. They engaged to defend his right, with the liberties and independence of Scotland, against all opponents; and they declared all who should contravene the same to be guilty of treason against the king and the nation.* It seems probable that these resolutions of the clergy were connected with the deliberations of a parliament which assembled at the same time, and in which an instrument of similar import was drawn up and signed by the two remaining Estates, although no record of such proceedings remains. These solemn transactions gave strength to the title of Bruce, and increased a popularity which was already great. The spirit of the king had infused itself into the nobility, and pervaded the lowest ranks of the people—that feeling of superiority, which a great military commander invariably communicates to his soldiers, evinced itself in constant and destructive aggressions upon the English marches; and upon the recall of the Earl of Hereford and Lord Robert Clifford from the interior of Scotland, they were necessitated to advance a sum of money before their enemies would consent to

* Instrument in the General Register House, Edinburgh.

a truce.* On the resumption of hostilities, Bruce advanced upon Perth, and threatened it with a siege. This town had been strongly fortified by the English, and was intrusted to John Fitz-Marmaduke and a powerful garrison. Edward was at last roused into personal activity. He ordered a fleet to sail to the Tay—he issued writs for levies of troops for its instant relief,†—and he commanded his whole military vassals to assemble at Berwick on the 8th of September, to proceed immediately against his enemies. Disgusted with the presence of his favourite, Gaveston, some of the great barons refused to repair in person to the royal standard; yet a powerful army assembled, and the Earls of Gloucester and Warrene, Lord Henry Percy, Lord James Clifford, and many other nobles and barons, were in the field.‡ With this great force, Edward, in the end of autumn, invaded Scotland; and Bruce, profiting by the lessons of former years, and recollecting the disastrous defeats of Falkirk and Dunbar, avoided a battle. It happened that Scotland was this year visited by a famine unprecedentedly severe; and the king, after driving away the herds and flocks into the narrow straits and valleys, retired, on the approach of the English, to the woods, and patiently awaited the distress which he knew the scarcity of forage and provisions must entail upon the enemy. The English king marched on from Roxburgh, through the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh, to Biggar, looking in vain for an opponent. From this he penetrated to Renfrew,§ and, with a weak and

* Hemingford, ut supra. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 80. The truce was to last till Christmas, and was afterwards prolonged till Midsummer. Tyrrrel, vol. iii. p. 235.

† *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. pp. 83, 84.

‡ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 247.

§ Ker is in an error in asserting that there is no evidence of Edward's

injudicious vengeance, burnt and laid waste the country, so that the heavy-armed cavalry, which formed the strength of his army, soon began to be in grievous distress; and, without a single occurrence of moment, he was compelled to order a retreat, and return to Berwick, where he spent the winter. Upon the retreat of the English, Bruce and his soldiers, leaving their fastnesses, broke down upon Lothian;* and Edward, hearing of the reappearance of his enemies, with a great part of his forces again entered Scotland; but this second expedition concluded in the same unsatisfactory manner; whilst a third army, equally formidable in its numbers and equipment, which was intrusted to his favourite, the Earl of Cornwall, penetrated across the Firth of Forth, advanced to Perth, and for some time anxiously endeavoured to find an enemy;† but the Scots pursued their usual policy, and Gaveston returned with the barren glory of having marched over a country where there was no one to oppose him.‡ A fourth expedition, conducted by the Earls of Gloucester and Surrey, penetrated into Scotland by a different route, marched into the forest of Selkirk, and again reduced that province under a short-lived obedience to England.§

On the return of the English king to London, Robert collected an army, and gratified his soldiers, who had so long smarted under oppression, by an invasion of that country on the side of the Solway, in which he burnt and plundered the district round Gillsland, ravaged Tynedale, and, after eight days' havoc,

having penetrated to Renfrew. The proof is in the *Rotuli Scotiae*, vol. i. p. 103.

* Chron. Lanercost, p. 214.

† Ibid. ut supra.

‡ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 248.

§ Chron. de Lanercost, ut supra. Lord Hailes, vol. ii. 4to, p. 31, has omitted these three last-mentioned expeditions.

returned with much booty into Scotland. Edward, in a letter to the pope, complained in bitter terms of the merciless spirit evinced by the Scottish army during this invasion;* but we must recollect that this cruel species of warfare was characteristic of the age; and in Robert, whose personal injuries were so deep and grievous, who had seen the captivity of his queen and only child, and the death and torture of his dearest relatives and friends, we are not to be surprised if, in those dark days, revenge became a pleasure, and retaliation a duty. Not satisfied with this, and aware that the English king was exclusively engaged in contentions with his barons, Bruce and his army, in the beginning of September, again entered England by the district of Redesdale, carried fire and sword through that country as far as Corbridge, then broke with much fierceness and rapacity into Tynedale,† ravaged the bishoprick of Durham, and, after levying contributions for fifteen days, and enriching themselves with spoils and captives, marched back without opposition into Scotland.‡ The miseries suffered from these invasions, and the defenceless state of the frontier, induced the people of Northumberland and the lord marchers to purchase a short truce from the Scottish king; a circumstance strongly indicative of the increasing imbecility of the English government.§

On his return, Bruce determined to besiege Perth, and sat down before it; but, owing to the strength of the fortifications, it defied for six weeks all the efforts of his army. It had been intrusted to the command

* *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 284. The expedition, according to the *Chronicle of Lanercost*, p. 216, took place in the middle of August.

† Edward, in his epistle to the pope, compares them to foxes. *Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 283. "Ad instar vulpium."

‡ *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 283. *Fordun & Hearne*, vol. iv. p. 1006.

§ *Chron. Lanercost*, pp. 216, 217.

of William Olifant, an Anglicised Scot, to whom Edward, in alarm for so important a post, had promised to send speedy succour;* but a stratagem of the king's, well planned, and daringly executed, gave Perth into the hands of the Scots before such assistance could arrive. The care of Edward the First had made Perth a place of great strength. It was fortified by a high wall, defended at intervals by stone towers, and surrounded by a broad deep moat, full of water. Bruce, having carefully observed the place where the fosse was shallowest, provided scaling ladders, struck his tents, and raised the siege. He then marched to a considerable distance, and having cheated the garrison into security by an absence of eight days, he suddenly returned during the night, and reached the walls undiscovered by the enemy. The king in person led his soldiers across the moat, bearing a ladder in his hand, and armed at all points. The water reached his throat, but he felt his way with his spear, waded through in safety, and was the second person who fixed his ladder and mounted the wall. A little incident, related by Barbour, evinces the spirit which the example communicated to his companions, and the comparative poverty of the Scottish towns in those times. A French knight was present in the Scottish army, and observing the intrepidity with which Bruce led his soldiers, he exclaimed, "What shall we say of our French lords, who live at ease, in the midst of feasting, wassail, and jollity, when so brave a knight is here putting his life in hazard to win a miserable hamlet!"† So saying, he threw himself into the water with the gay valour of his nation, and having

* *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 105. 9th Oct. 1311.

† *Barbour*, vol. i. p. 177.

passed the ditch, scaled the walls along with the king and his soldiers. So complete was the surprise, that the town was almost instantly taken. Every Scotsman who had joined the English interest was put to the sword, but the English garrison were spared,* and the king contented himself with the plunder of the place, and the total demolition of its fortifications.

In the midst of these continued successes of Bruce, the measures of the English king presented a striking contrast to the energetic administration of his father. They were entirely on the defensive. He gave orders, indeed, for the assembling of an army, and made promises and preparations for an invasion of Scotland. But the orders were recalled, and Edward, engrossed by disputes with his barons, took no decided part against the enemy. He wrote, however, to the different English governors of the few remaining castles in Scotland, who had represented their incapacity of standing out against the attacks of the Scots, without a reinforcement of men, money, and provisions;† he directed flattering letters to John of Argyle, the island prince, praising him for the annoyance which his fleet had occasioned to Bruce, and exhorting him to continue his services during the winter; and he entreated the pope to retain Wishart bishop of Glasgow, as a false traitor, and an enemy to his liege lord of England, in an honourable imprisonment at Rome,‡ fearful of the influence in favour of Bruce, which the return of this able prelate to Scotland might occasion. These feeble efforts were followed up by an attempt to conclude a

* Chron. Lanercost, pp. 221, 222. Such is the account in the above MS. Chronicle; but Fordun a Hearne, p. 1006, affirms, that both Scots and English were put to the sword. The town was taken on the 8th January, 1311-12.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 105.

‡ Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 245.

truce; but the King of Scotland, eager to pursue his career of success, refused to accede* to the proposal, and a third time invaded England, with a greater force, and a more desolating fury than before. The towns of Hexham and Corbridge were burnt; and his army, by a forced march, surprised the opulent city of Durham during the night,† slew all who resisted him, and reduced a great part of it to ashes. The castle, and the precincts of its noble cathedral withstood the efforts of the Scots, but the rest of the city was entirely sacked; and so great was the spoil, that the inhabitants of the bishoprick, dreading the repetition of such a visit, offered two thousand pounds to purchase a truce. The terms upon which Robert agreed to this, strongly evinced the change which had taken place in the relative position of the two countries. It was stipulated by the Scots, that they should have free ingress and egress through the county of Durham, whenever they chose to invade England; and with such terror did this proviso affect the inhabitants of the neighbouring country, that the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, contributed each a sum of two thousand pounds to be included in the same truce.‡ During this invasion, Bruce established his head-quarters at Chester, while Sir James Douglas, with his veteran soldiers, who were well practised in such expeditions, pushed on, and having sacked Hartlepool, and the country round it, returned with many burgesses and their wives, whom he had made prisoners, to the main army.§ Thus

* Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 301.

† Hemingford, vol. i. p. 262. Chron. Lanercost, p. 220.

‡ Chron. Lanercost, p. 220.

§ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 262. "Bruce was here only making a reprisal on his own English property. He had at Hartlepool, market and fair, assize

enriched with a store of prisoners and plunder, the king returned to Scotland, and on his road thither, assaulted Carlisle; but he found the garrison on the alert, and a desperate conflict took place, in which the Scots were beat back with great loss; Douglas himself, and many of his men, being wounded.* This want of success did not prevent him from endeavouring to surprise Berwick by a forced march, and a night attack, which had nearly succeeded. The hooks of the rope-ladders were already fixed on the wall, and the soldiers had begun to mount, when the barking of a dog alarmed the garrison, and the assailants were compelled to retire with loss.†

On his return to Scotland, King Robert was repaid for this partial discomfiture, by the recovery of some important castles. Dalswinton, in Galloway, the chief residence of his enemies the Comyns, and soon after the castles of Butel and of Dumfries, which last had been committed to the care of Henry de Beaumont, were taken by assault, and, according to the constant practice of Bruce, immediately razed, and rendered untenable by any military force.‡ Edward now trembled for his strong castle of Caerlaverock, which had cost his father so long a siege; and he wrote with great anxiety to its constable, Eustace de Maxwell, exhorting him to adopt every means in his power for its defence. In the winter of the same year, this monarch was driven to some mean compromises of his honour.

of bread and victual, also a seaport where he takes keel dues." Hutchinson's History of Durham, pp. 234, 246.

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 262.

† Chron. Lanercost, p. 221. Lord Hailes, vol. ii. p. 36, and Ker, vol. i. p. 404, have fallen into an error in describing Bruce as having only "threatened to besiege Berwick." Nor have either of these historians taken notice of his attempt upon Carlisle. Berwick was assaulted in December, 1312. M. Malmesbury, vita Ed. II., p. 145.

‡ Fordun & Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1006.

The English garrison of Dundee had been so hard pressed by the Scots, that William de Montfichet, the warden, entered into a treaty to surrender the place, and give up a number of Scottish prisoners, within a stipulated time. Edward was then at York, and having heard of this agreement, he sent peremptory orders to the warden to violate the truce, and, under the penalty of death to himself, and confiscation of his estates, to preserve the town by this flagrant act. Montfichet was also enjoined to warn the Scots, that if any of the English prisoners or hostages should be put to death, orders would be given for the immediate execution of all the Scottish prisoners in the hands of the English. In addition to this, the king addressed flattering letters to the several officers of the garrison of Dundee, and to the mayor, bailiffs, and community, thanking them for their good service, and exhorting them to persevere in the defence of the town. It is mortifying to find Sir David de Brechin, the king's nephew, who had signalized himself against his uncle in his days of distress, and, when afterwards made prisoner, had been pardoned and received into favour, again in the ranks of the enemy, and acting the part of an Anglicised Scot. He was now commanded to co-operate as joint-warden with Montfichet, and earnest orders were despatched for reinforcements of ships, provisions, and soldiers, to be sent from Newcastle and Berwick.*

The heroic spirit of Bruce had now transfused itself into the peasantry of the country; and the king began to reap the fruits of this popular spirit, in the capture of the castle of Linlithgow, by a common labourer. His name was Binny, and being known to the garri-

* *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 108. 2d March, 1311-12.

son, and employed by them in leading hay into the fort, he communicated his design to a party of Scottish soldiers, whom he stationed in ambush near the gate. In his large wain he contrived to conceal eight armed men, covered with a load of hay, a servant drove the oxen, and Binny himself walked carelessly at his side. When the portcullis was raised, and the wain stood in the middle of the gateway, interposing a complete barrier to its descent, the driver cut the ropes which harnessed the oxen; upon which signal the armed men suddenly leapt from the cart, the soldiers in ambush rushed in, and so complete was the surprise, that with little resistance, the garrison were put to the sword, and the place taken. Bruce amply rewarded the brave countryman, and ordered the castle and its strong outworks, constructed by Edward I., to be immediately demolished.*

Edward had committed the charge of the castle of Roxburgh, a post of the utmost importance, to a Burgundian knight, Gillemin de Fiennes. On Fasten's Even, immediately before Lent, when the soldiers and officers of the garrison were carelessly carousing, Sir James Douglas, with about sixty soldiers, favoured by a dark night, and concealed by black frocks thrown over their armour, cautiously approached the castle, creeping on their hands and feet through the trees which studded the park. They at last approached in this way so near, that they could overhear the talk of the sentinels, one of whom observed them moving; and, deceived by the darkness, remarked to his fellow, that yonder oxen were late left out. Relieved by this for-

* Lord Hailes, following Barbour, p. 196, and Ker, following Lord Hailes, place the capture of Linlithgow in the year 1311. Yet it appears, by the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, that the peel, or castle of Linlithgow, was in possession of the English in February, 1312-13.

fortunate mistake, Douglas and his men continued their painful progress, and at length succeeded in reaching the foot of the walls, and fixing their ladders of rope, without being discovered. They could not, however, mount so quietly, but that the nearest watch on the outer wall overheard the noise, and ran to meet them. All was like to be lost ; but by this time the first Scots soldier had mounted the parapet, who instantly stabbed the sentry, and threw him over, before he had time to give the alarm. Another sentinel shared the fate of the first ; and so intent were the garrison upon their midnight sports, that the terrible cry of “ Douglas ! Douglas ! ” shouted into the great hall, was the first thing which broke off the revels. In a moment the scene was changed from mirth into a dreadful carnage ; but resistance soon became hopeless, and Douglas gave quarter. De Fiennes retreated to the great tower, and gallantly defended himself, till a deep wound in the face compelled him to surrender.* He retired to England, and died of his wounds soon after. Bruce immediately sent his brother Edward, who levelled the works, and reduced the rest of Teviotdale, with the exception of Jedburgh, which was still garrisoned by the English.

At this time Randolph earl of Moray had strictly invested the castle of Edinburgh, which, for twenty years, had been in the possession of England, and was now commanded by Sir Piers de Luband, a Gascon knight, and a relative of Gaveston, the English king’s favourite.† The garrison suspected the fidelity of this foreigner, and, having cast him into a dungeon, chose a constable of their own nation, who determined to

* Barbour, pp. 202, 203.

† *Monachi Malmesburiensis Vita Edwardi II.*, p. 144.

defend the place to the last extremity. Already had the Scots spent six weeks in the siege, when an English soldier, of the name of Frank, presented himself to Randolph, and informed him he could point out a place where he had himself often scaled the wall, and by which, he undertook to lead his men into the castle. This man, in his youth, when stationed in the castle, had become enamoured of a girl in the neighbourhood, and for the purpose of meeting her, had discovered a way up and down the perilous cliff, with which custom had rendered him familiar; and Randolph, with thirty determined men, fully armed, placed themselves under his direction, and resolved to scale the castle at midnight.* The surprise, however, was not nearly so complete as at Roxburgh, and the affair far more severely contested. Besides, Randolph had only half the number of men with Douglas, the access was far more difficult, and the night was so dark, that the task of climbing the rock became extremely dangerous. They persevered, nevertheless, and, on getting about half-way up, found a jutting crag, on which they sat down to take breath. The wall was now immediately above them; and it happened that the check-watches, at this time, were making their round, and challenging the sentinels, whilst Randolph and his soldiers could hear all that passed. At this critical moment, whether from accident, or that one of the watch had really perceived something moving on the rock, a soldier cast a stone down towards the spot where Randolph sat, and called out,—“Away! I see you well.” But the Scots lay still, the watch moved on, and Randolph and his men waited till they had gone to some distance. They then got up, and clambering to the bottom of the wall, at a

* Barbour, p. 205.

place where it was only twelve feet in height, fixed the iron crochet of their rope-ladder on the crib-stone.* Frank was the first who mounted, then followed Sir Andrew Gray, next came Randolph himself, who was followed by the rest of the party. Before, however, all had got up, the sentinels, who had heard whispering and the clank of arms, attacked them, and shouted "Treason !" They were soon, however, repulsed or slain ; and the Scots, by this time on the parapet, leapt down, and rushed on to the keep, or principal strength. The whole garrison was now in arms, and a desperate conflict ensued, in which the English greatly outnumbered their assailants. But panic and surprise deprived them of their accustomed bravery ; and, although the governor himself made a gallant defence, he was overpowered and slain, and his garrison immediately surrendered at discretion. Randolph liberated Sir Piers Luband from his dungeon, and the Gascon knight immediately entered the service of Bruce. The castle itself shared the fate of every fortress which fell into the hands of the Scottish king. It was instantly demolished, and rendered incapable of military occupation. If we consider the small number of men which he led, and the difficult circumstances in which the assault was made, we shall probably be inclined to agree with the faithful old historian, who characterizes this exploit of Randolph as one of the hardest and most chivalrous which distinguished a chivalrous age.†

These great successes so rapidly succeeding each other, and an invasion of Cumberland, which soon

* Barbour, pp. 207, 208.

† Barbour, pp. 207, 212. In Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 259, it is said, on the authority of *Scala Chronicon*, that the foreigners to whom the Scottish castles were committed, would hazard nothing in their defence,—an erroneous assertion, and arising out of national mortification.

after followed, made the English king tremble for the safety of Berwick, and induced him to remove the unfortunate Countess of Buchan from her imprisonment there, to a place of more remote confinement. The conferences for a cessation of hostilities were again renewed, at the request of the French king; and Edward ostentatiously talked of granting a truce to his enemies in compliance with the wishes of Philip,* which, when it came to the point, his enemies would not grant to him.

Soon after this the King of Scotland conducted, in person, a naval expedition against Man. To this island his bitter enemies, the Macdowalls, had retreated, after their expulsion from Galloway, their ancient principality; and the then Governor of Man appears to have been that same fierce chief, who had surprised Thomas and Alexander Bruce at Loch Ryan. Bruce landed his troops, encountered and routed the governor, stormed the castle of Russin, and completely subdued the island.† He then despatched some galleys to levy contributions in Ulster, and returned to Scotland, where he found that his gallant and impetuous brother Sir Edward Bruce, had made himself master of the town and castle of Dundee, for the preservation of which so many exertions had been made in a former year. After this success, Sir Edward laid siege to the castle of Stirling, nearly the last fortress of importance which now stood between Scotland and freedom. Its governor, Philip de Mowbray, after a long and successful defence, had begun to dread the failure of provisions in the garrison, and made overtures for a treaty,

* Rymer, *Fœd.* vol. iii. p. 411.

† Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1007. 11th June, 1313. In the *Chron.* of Man he is called Dingaway Dowill. In the *Annals of Ireland* he is called the Lord Donegan Odowill.

in which he agreed to surrender the castle by the ensuing midsummer, if not relieved by an English army. This was evidently a truce involving conditions which ought on no account to have been accepted. Its necessary effect, if agreed to, was to check the ardour of the Scots in that career of success which was now rapidly leading to the complete deliverance of their country; it gave the King of England a whole year to assemble the strength of his dominions; and such were the chivalrous feelings of that age, as to agreements of this nature, that it compelled the King of Scotland to hazard the fortunes of his kingdom upon the issue of a battle, which he knew must be fought on his side with a great disparity of force. We need not wonder then, that Bruce was highly incensed, on hearing that, without consulting him, his brother had agreed to Mowbray's proposals. He disdained, however, to imitate the conduct of Edward, who, in a former year, and in circumstances precisely similar, had infringed the treaty of Dundee;* and keeping his word unbroken, he resolved, at all hazards, to meet the English on the appointed day.†

Edward, having obtained a partial reconciliation with his discontented barons, made immense preparations for the succour of the fortress of Stirling. He summoned the whole military force of his kingdoms to meet him at Berwick on the 11th of June.‡ To this general muster ninety-three barons, comprehending the whole body of the great vassals of the crown, were commanded to repair with horse and arms, and their entire feudal service; whilst the different counties in

* *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 108.

† *Barbour*, pp. 216, 217.

‡ *Rymer, Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 463, 464. The writs, summoning the great feudal force of his kingdom, namely the cavalry, are directed to ninety-three barons. See Notes and Illustrations, letters AA.

England and Wales were ordered to raise a body of twenty-seven thousand foot soldiers; and although Hume, mistaking the evidence of the original record, has imagined that the numbers of this army have been exaggerated by Barbour, it is certain that the accumulated strength which the king commanded exceeded a hundred thousand men, including a body of forty thousand cavalry, of which three thousand were, both horse and man, in complete armour, and a force of fifty thousand archers. He now appointed the Earl of Pembroke, a nobleman experienced, under his father, in the wars of Scotland, to be governor of that country, and despatched him thither to make preparations for his own arrival. He ordered a fleet of twenty-three vessels to be assembled for the invasion of Scotland;* in addition to these, he directed letters to the mayor and authorities of the various seaport towns, enjoining them to fit out an additional fleet of thirty ships; and of this united armament, he appointed John Sturmy and Peter Bard to have the command.† He directed letters to O'Connor prince of Connaught, and twenty-five other Irish native chiefs, requiring them to place themselves, with all the military force which they could collect, under the orders of Richard de Burgh earl of Ulster, and to join the army at the muster; he made the same demand upon the English barons who possessed estates in Ireland. He requested the Bishop of Constance to send him a body of sixty mounted cross-bowmen. He took care that store of provisions for the troops, and forage for the cavalry, should be collected from all quarters; he

* *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. pp. 116, 119. 7 Ed. II., m. 8. 18th March, 1313-14. The writs are directed to twenty-three captains of vessels, of which the names are given. We have "the James, the Mary, the Blyth, the St Peter," &c.

† *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 115. 12th March, 1313.

placed his victualling department under strict organization; he appointed John of Argyle, who, probably, had no inconsiderable fleet of his own, to co-operate with the English armament, with the title of High Admiral of the western fleet of England;* and he took care that the army should be provided with all kinds of useful artisans—smiths, carpenters, masons, armourers—and supplied with waggons and cars for the transport of the tents, pavilions, and baggage, which so large a military array necessarily included. The various writs, and multifarious orders, connected with the summoning and organization of the army of England, which fought at Bannockburn, are still preserved, and may be seen in their minutest details; and they prove that it far exceeded, not only in numbers but in equipment, any army which was ever led by any former monarch against Scotland.†

With this great force, Edward prepared to take the field, and having first made a pilgrimage with his queen and the Prince of Wales to St Albans, and with the accustomed offerings requested the prayers of the church, he held his way through Lincolnshire to York and Newcastle, and met his army at Berwick. He here found, that the Earls of Warrene, Lancaster, Arundel, and Warwick, refused to attend him in person, alleging that he had broken his word given to the lord ordinars; but they sent their feudal services, and the rest of the nobility mustered, without any absentees, and with great splendour: so that the monarch, having reviewed his troops, began his march for Scotland in high spirits, and with confident anticipations of victory.

Meanwhile, Bruce, aware of the mighty force which

* *Rotuli Scotiæ*, p. 121, m. 7, p. 129. 25th March, 1313-14.

† *Ibid.* 7 Ed. II., vol. i. *passim*.

was advancing against him, had not been idle. He appointed a general muster of his whole army in the Torwood, near Stirling,* and here he found, that the greatest force which could be collected, did not amount to forty thousand fightingmen; and that the small body of cavalry which he had, could not be expected to compete for a moment, either in the temper of their arms, or the strength of their horses, with the heavy cavalry of the English. He at once, therefore, resolved to fight on foot,† and to draw up his army in ground where cavalry could not act with effect, and where the English, from their immense numbers, would be cramped and confined in their movements. For this purpose, he chose a field not far from Stirling, which was then called the New Park. It was studded and encumbered with trees, and the approach to it was protected by a morass, the passage of which would be dangerous to an enemy.‡ Bruce, having carefully examined the ground, determined that his right wing should rest on the rivulet called Bannock-burn, whose broken and wooded banks afforded him an excellent security against being outflanked. His front extended to a village called St Ninians; and his left wing, which was unprotected by the nature of the ground, was exposed to the garrison of Stirling in the rear—a dangerous position, had not the terms of the treaty with the governor precluded attack from that quarter. But Bruce did not leave the defence of his left to this negative security; for in a field hard by, so firm and level that it afforded favourable ground for cavalry, he

* Barbour, p. 221.

† The Scala Chron. p. 142, says, that Bruce determined to fight on foot, after the example of the Flemish troops, who, a little before this, had discomfited the power of France at the battle of Courtray. The same allusion to Courtray is made by the Monk of Malmesbury, p. 152.

‡ Barbour, pp. 223, 224.

caused many rows of parallel pits to be dug, a foot in breadth, and about three feet deep. In these pits he placed pointed stakes, with a number of sharp iron weapons, called in Scotland *calthrops*, and covered them carefully with sod, so that the ground, apparently level, was rendered impassable to horse.* It does not appear, however, that the English cavalry attempted to charge over this ground, although, in the subsequent dispersion of the army, many lost their lives in the pits and ditches.†

Having thus judiciously availed himself of every circumstance, the king reviewed his troops, welcomed all courteously, and declared himself well satisfied with their appearance and equipment. The principal leaders of the Scottish army were Sir Edward Bruce the king's brother, Sir James Douglas, Randolph earl of Moray, and Walter the High Steward of Scotland. These, with the exception of the last, who was still a youth, were experienced and veteran leaders, who had been long trained up in war, and upon whom their master could place entire reliance; and having fully explained to them his intended order of battle, the king waited in great tranquillity for the approach of the enemy.

Soon after, word was brought that the English army had lain all night at Edinburgh. This was on Saturday evening the twenty-second of June, and early in the morning of Sunday the soldiers heard mass. It was stated by the contemporary historians, that they confessed themselves with the solemnity of men who were resolved to die in that field, or to free their country; and as it was the vigil of St John, they took no dinner, but kept their fast on bread and water. Mean-

* Barbour, p. 226, l. 365.

† Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 246.

while the king, on Sunday, after hearing mass, rode out to examine the pits which had been made, and to see that his orders had been duly executed. Having satisfied himself, he returned, and commanded his soldiers to arm. This order was promptly obeyed; and all cheerfully arrayed themselves under their different banners. Bruce then caused proclamation to be made, that all who did not feel fully resolved to win the field, or to die with honour, had at that moment free liberty to leave the army; but the soldiers raised a great shout, and answered with one accord, that they were determined to abide the enemy.*

The baggage of the army was placed in a valley at some distance in the rear, and the sutlers and camp-followers, who amounted nearly to twenty thousand, were stationed beside it, and commanded to await the result of the battle. They were separated from the army by a small hill, which is yet called the Gilles, or Gillies' Hill.

The king now arranged his army in a line consisting of three square columns, or battles, of which he intrusted the command of the vaward, or centre, to the Earl of Moray. His brother Edward led the right, and the left was given to Sir James Douglas, and Walter the Steward of Scotland.† He himself took the command of the reserve, which formed a fourth battle, drawn up immediately behind the centre, and composed of the men of Argyle, Carrick, Kentire, and the Isles. Along with him was Angus of Isla, with the men of Bute; and he had also under his command a body of five hundred cavalry, fully armed, and mounted on light and active horses.

* Barbour, pp. 226, 227.

† Ibid. p. 225, l. 344, compared with l. 309.

Having thus disposed his order of battle, the king despatched Sir James Douglas and Sir Robert Keith to reconnoitre, who soon after returned with the news, that they descried the English host advancing in great strength, and making a very martial appearance. For this intelligence Bruce was well prepared; yet, dreading its effect upon his soldiers, he directed them to give out to the army, that the enemy, though numerous, were advancing in confused and ill-arranged order.*

Although this was not exactly the case, the rash character of Edward led him to commit some errors in the disposal of his troops, which led to fatal consequences. He had hurried on to Scotland with such rapidity, that the horses were worn out with travel and want of food, and the men were not allowed the regular periods for halt and refreshment, so that his soldiers went into action under great disadvantage. Upon advancing from Falkirk, early in the morning, and when the English host was only two miles distant from the Scottish army, Edward despatched an advanced party of eight hundred cavalry, led by Sir Robert Clifford, with orders to outflank the enemy, and to throw themselves into Stirling castle. Bruce had looked for this movement, and had commanded Randolph, his nephew, to be vigilant in repelling any such attempt.† Clifford, however, unobserved by Randolph, made a circuit by the low grounds to the east and north of the church of St Ninians, and having thus avoided the front of the Scottish line, he was proceeding towards the castle, when he was detected by the piercing eye of Bruce, who rode hastily up to Randolph, and reproached him for his carelessness in

* Barbour, p. 229.

† Ibid. p. 228.

having suffered the enemy to pass. “Oh, Randolph!” cried his master, “lightly have you thought of the charge committed to you; a rose has fallen from your chaplet.”* Stung by such words, the Earl of Moray, leaving the centre, at the head of a select body of infantry, hasted at all hazards to repair his error. As he advanced, Clifford’s squadron wheeled round, and putting their spears in rest, charged him at full speed, but Randolph had formed his infantry in a square presenting a front on all sides, with the spears fixed before them;† and although he had only five hundred men, he awaited the shock of Clifford with such firmness, that many of the English were unhorsed, and Sir William Daynecourt, an officer of note, who had been more forward in his attack than his companions, was slain.‡ Unable to make any impression upon Randolph’s square by this first attack, the English proceeded more leisurely to surround him on all sides, and by a second furious and simultaneous charge on each front, endeavoured to break the line. But the light armour, the long spears, and the short knives and battle-axes of the Scottish foot, proved a match for the heavy-armed English cavalry, and a desperate conflict ensued, in which Randolph’s little square, although it stood firm, seemed likely to be crushed to pieces by the heavy metal which was brought against it. All this passed in the sight of Bruce who was surrounded by his officers. At length Sir James Douglas earnestly requested to be allowed to go with a reinforcement to his relief. “You shall not stir a foot from your ground,” said the king, “and let Randolph extricate himself as best he can; I will not alter my order of battle, and lose my advantage, whatever

* Barbour, p. 231.

† Ibid. p. 232.

‡ Ibid. p. 234.

may befall him.”—“My liege,” answered Douglas, “I cannot stand by, and see Randolph perish, when I may bring him help; so by your leave I must away to his succour.” Bruce unwillingly consented, and Douglas immediately held his way towards Randolph.*

By this time the King of England had brought up his main army, and ordered a halt, for the purpose of consulting with his leaders, whether it were expedient to join battle that same day, or take a night to refresh his troops. By some mistake, however, the centre of the English continued its march, not aware of this order, and on their approach to the New Park, Bruce rode forward alone to make some new arrangements, which were called for by the absence of Randolph, and to take a final view of the disposition of his army. He was at this time in front of his own line, meanly mounted on a hackney, but clad in full armour, with his battle-axe in his hand, and distinguished from his nobles by a small crown of gold surmounting his steel helmet. On the approach of the English vaward, led by the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, Sir Henry de Boune, an English knight, who rode about a bow-shot in advance of his companions, recognised the king, and galloped forward to attack him. Boune was armed at all points, and excellently mounted on a heavy war-horse, so that the contest was most unequal, and Bruce might have retired; but for a moment he forgot his duties as a general in his feelings as a knight, and, to the surprise of his soldiers, spurred his little hackney forward to his assailant. There was an interval of breathless suspense, but it lasted only a moment; for as the English knight came on in full career, the king parried the spear, and raising himself

* Barbour, pp. 233, 234.

in his stirrups as he passed, with one blow of his battle-axe laid him dead at his feet, by almost cleaving his head in two.* Upon this his soldiers raised a great shout, and advanced hardily upon the English centre, which retreated in confusion to the main army; and Bruce, afraid of disorder getting into his line of battle, called back his men from the pursuit, after they had slain a few of the English soldiers. When they had time to recollect themselves, the Scottish leaders earnestly remonstrated with the king for the rash manner in which he exposed himself; and Bruce, somewhat ashamed of the adventure, changed the subject, and looking at the broken shaft which he held in his hand, with a smile replied, "He was sorry for the loss of his good battle-axe."†

All this passed so quickly, that the contest between Randolph and Clifford was still undecided; but Douglas, as he drew near to his friend's rescue, perceived that the English had by this time begun to waver, and that disorder was rapidly getting into their ranks. Commanding his men, therefore, to halt, "Let us not," cried he, "diminish the glory of so redoubtable an encounter, by coming in at the end to share it. The brave men that fight yonder, without our help will soon discomfit the enemy." And the result was as Douglas had foreseen; for Randolph, who quickly perceived the same indications, began to press the English cavalry with repeated charges and increasing fury, so that they at length entirely broke, and fled in great disorder. The attempt to throw succours into the castle was thus completely defeated; and Clifford, after losing many of his men, who were slain in the pursuit, rejoined the main body of the army with the

* Barbour, pp. 235, 236.

† Ibid. p. 237.

scattered and dispirited remains of his squadron.* So steadily had the Scots kept their ranks, that Randolph had sustained a very inconsiderable loss.

From the result of these two attacks, and especially from the defeat of Clifford, Bruce drew a good augury, and cheerfully congratulated his soldiers on so fair a beginning. He observed to them, that they had defeated the flower of the English cavalry, and had driven back the centre division of their great army; and remarked, that the same circumstances which gave spirit and animation to their hopes, must communicate depression to the enemy.† As the day was far spent, he held a military council of his leaders, and requested their advice, whether, having now seen the numbers and strength of their opponents, it was expedient to hazard a battle, declaring himself ready to submit his individual opinion to the judgment of the majority. But the minds of the Scottish commanders were not in a retreating mood; and although aware of the great disparity of force, the English army being more than triple that of Bruce, they declared their unanimous desire to keep their position, and to fight on the morrow. The king then told them that such was his own wish, and commanded them to have the whole army arrayed next morning by day-break, in the order and upon the ground already agreed on. He earnestly exhorted them to preserve the firmest order, each man under his own banner, and to receive the charge of the enemy with levelled spears, so that even the hindmost ranks of the English would feel the shock. He pointed out to them, that everything in the approaching battle, which was to determine whether Scotland was to be free or enslaved, depended on their own steady disci-

* Barbour, pp. 238, 239.

† Ibid. pp. 240, 241.

pline and deliberate valour. He conjured them not to allow a single soldier to quit his banner or break the array; and, if they should be successful, by no means to begin to plunder or to make prisoners, as long as a single enemy remained on the field. He promised that the heirs of all who fell should receive their lands free, and without the accustomed feudal fine; and he assured them, with a determined and cheerful countenance, that if the orders he had now given were obeyed, they might confidently look forward to victory.*

Having thus spoken to his leaders, the army were dismissed to their quarters. In the evening, they made the necessary arrangements for the battle, and passed the night in arms upon the field. Meanwhile the English king and his leaders had resolved, on account of the fatigue undergone by the troops, and symptoms of dissatisfaction which appeared amongst them, to delay the attack, and drew off to the low grounds to the right and rear of their original position, where they passed the night in riot and disorder.† At this time, it is said, a Scotsman, who served in the English army, deserted to Bruce, and informed him he could lead him to the attack so as to secure an easy victory. Robert, however, was not thus to be drawn from his position, and determined to await the enemy on the ground already chosen.

On Monday, the 24th of June, at the first break of day, the Scottish king confessed, and along with his army heard mass. This solemn service was performed by Maurice, the Abbot of Inchaffray, upon an eminence in front of their line, and after its conclusion the soldiers took breakfast, and arranged themselves

* Barbour, pp. 243, 244. † Thomas de la More, apud Camden, p. 594.

under their different banners. They wore light armour, but of excellent temper. Their weapons were, a battle-axe slung at their side, and long spears, besides knives, or daggers, which the former affair of Randolph had proved to be highly effective in close combat. When the whole army was in array, they proceeded, with displayed banners, to make knights, as was the custom before a battle. Bruce conferred that honour upon Walter the young Steward of Scotland, Sir James Douglas, and many other brave men, in due order, and according to their rank.*

By this time the van of the English army, composed of archers and lances, and led by the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, approached within bowshot; and at a little distance behind, the remaining nine divisions, which, confined by the narrowness of the ground, were compressed into a close column of great and unwieldy dimensions.† This vast body was conducted by the King of England in person, who had along with him a body-guard of five hundred chosen horse. He was attended by the Earl of Pembroke, Sir Ingram Umfraville, and Sir Giles de Argentine, a Knight of Rhodes, of great reputation.‡ When Edward approached near enough, and observed the Scottish army drawn up on foot, and their firm array and determined countenance, he expressed much surprise, and turning to Umfraville, asked him, "If he thought these Scots would fight?" Umfraville replied, that they assuredly would; and he then advised Edward, instead of an open attack, to pretend to retreat behind his encampment, upon which he was confident, from his old experience in the Scottish wars, that the enemy would break their array, and

* Barbour, p. 248.

† Walsingham, p. 105.

‡ *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 441. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 295.

rush on without order or discipline, so that the English army might easily attack and overwhelm them. Umfraville, an Anglicised Scottish baron, who had seen much service against Edward's father, and had only sworn fealty in 1305, spoke this from an intimate knowledge of his countrymen; but Edward fortunately disdained his counsel. At this moment the Abbot of Inchaffray, barefooted and holding a crucifix aloft in his hand, walked slowly along the Scottish line; and as he passed, the whole army knelt down,* and prayed for a moment with the solemnity of men who felt it might be their last act of devotion. "See," cried Edward, "they are kneeling—they ask mercy!"—"They do, my liege," replied Umfraville, "but it is from God, not from us. Trust me, yon men will win the day, or die upon the field."†—"Be it so, then," said Edward, and immediately commanded the charge to be sounded. The English van, led by Gloucester and Hereford, now spurred forward their horses, and at full gallop charged the right wing of the Scots, commanded by Edward Bruce; but a dispute between the two English barons as to precedence, caused the charge, though rapid, to be broken and irregular. Gloucester, who had been irritated the day before by some galling remarks of the king, insisted on leading the van, a post which of right belonged to Hereford, as Constable of England. To this Hereford would not agree; and Gloucester, as they disputed, seeing the Scottish right advancing, sprung forward at the head of his own division, and, without being supported by the rest of the van, attacked the enemy, who received them with a shock, which caused the noise of the meeting of their

* Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 250.

† Barbour, p. 250, and Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 225.

spears to be heard a great way off, and threw many knights from their saddles, whose horses were stabbed and rendered furious by their wounds.* While the right wing was thus engaged, Randolph, who commanded the centre division, advanced at a steady pace to meet the main body of the English, whom he confronted and attacked with great intrepidity, although the enemy outnumbered him by ten to one. His square, to use an expression of Barbour's, was soon surrounded and lost amidst the English, as if it had plunged into the sea; upon which Sir James Douglas and Walter the Steward brought up the left wing; so that the whole line, composed of the three battles, was now engaged, and the battle raged with great fury.† The English cavalry attempting, by repeated charges, to break the line of the Scottish spearmen, and they standing firm in their array, and presenting on every side a serried front of steel, caused a shock and melee, which is not easily described; and the slaughter was increased, by the remembrance of many years of grievous injury and oppression, producing, on the part of the Scots, an exasperation of feeling, and an eager desire of revenge. At every successive charge, the English cavalry lost more men, and fell into greater confusion than before; and this confusion was infinitely increased by the confined nature of the ground, and the immense mass of their army. The Scottish squares, on the other hand, were light and compact, though firm; they moved easily, altered their front at pleasure, and suited themselves to every emergency of the battle. They were, however, dreadfully galled by the English bowmen; and Bruce, dreading the effect of the constant and deadly showers of arrows, which fell like

* Barbour, p. 251.

† Ibid. pp. 252, 253.

hail upon them, directed Sir Robert Keith, the marshal, to make a circuit, with the five hundred horse which were in the reserve, round the morass called Miltown Bog, and to charge the archers in flank. This movement was executed with great decision and rapidity; and such was its effect, that the whole body of the archers who had neither spears nor other weapons to defend themselves against cavalry, were in a short time overthrown and dispersed, without any prolonged attempt at resistance.* Part of them fled to the main army, and the rest did not again attempt to rally or make head during the continuance of the battle. Although such was the success of this judicious attack, the English still kept fighting with great determination; but they had already lost some of their bravest commanders, and Bruce could discern symptoms of exhaustion and impatience. He saw, too, that his own infantry were still fresh and well-breathed; and he assured his leaders that the attack, continued but for a short time, and pushed with vigour, must make the day their own. It was at this moment that he brought up his whole reserve, and the four battles of the Scots were now completely engaged in one line.† The Scottish archers, unlike the English, carried short battle-axes; and with these, after they had exhausted their arrows, they rushed upon the enemy, and made great havoc. The Scottish commanders, too, the king, Edward Bruce, Douglas, Randolph, and the Steward, were fighting in the near presence of each other, and animated with a generous rivalry. At this time, Barbour, whose account of the battle is evidently taken from eye-witnesses, describes the field as exhibiting a

* Barbour, pp. 255, 256.

† Barbour, p. 258. Chron. of Lanercost, p. 225:

terrific spectacle. "It was awful," says he, "to hear the noise of these four battles fighting in a line, the clang of arms, the shouts of the knights as they raised their war-cry; to see the flight of the arrows, which maddened the horses, the alternate sinking and rising of the banners, and the ground slippery with gore, and covered with shreds of armour, broken spears, pennons, and rich scarfs, torn and soiled with blood and clay; and to listen to the groans of the wounded and the dying." The wavering of the English lines was now discernible by the Scottish soldiers themselves, who shouted when they saw it, and calling out, "On them, on them—they fail!" pressed forward with renewed vigour, gaining ground upon their enemy.* At this critical moment, there appeared over the little hill, which lay between the field and the baggage of the Scottish army, a large body of troops marching apparently in firm array towards the field. This spectacle, which was instantly believed to be a reinforcement proceeding to join the Scots, although it was nothing more than the sutlers and camp-boys hastening to see the battle, spread dismay amidst the ranks of the English; and King Robert, whose eye was everywhere, to perceive and take advantage of the slightest movement in his favour, put himself at the head of his reserve, and raising his *ensenye*, or war-cry, furiously pressed on the enemy.† It was this last charge, which was followed up by the advance of the whole line, that decided the day; the English, who hitherto, although wavering, had preserved their array, now broke into disjointed squadrons; part began to quit the field, and no efforts of their leaders could restore order. The Earl of Gloucester, who was mounted on a spirited

* Barbour, p. 259.

† Ibid. p. 261.

war-horse, which had lately been presented to him by the king,* in one of his attempts to rally his men, rode desperately upon the division of Edward Bruce; he was instantly unhorsed, and fell pierced by numerous wounds of the Scottish lances. The flight now became general, and the slaughter great. The banners of twenty-seven barons were laid in the dust, and their masters slain. Amongst these were Sir Robert Clifford, a veteran and experienced commander, and Sir Edmund Mauley, the Seneschal of England. On seeing the entire rout of his army, Edward reluctantly allowed the Earl of Pembroke to seize his bridle, and force him off the field, guarded by five hundred heavy-armed horse. Sir Giles de Argentine accompanied him a short way, till he saw the king in safety. He then reined up, and bade him farewell. "It has never been my custom," said he, "to fly; and here I must take my fortune." Saying this, he put spurs to his horse, and crying out, "An Argentine!" charged the squadron of Edward Bruce, and, like Gloucester, was soon borne down by the force of the Scottish spears, and cut to pieces.† Multitudes of the English were drowned when attempting to cross the river Forth. Many, in their flight, got entangled in the pits, which they seem to have avoided in their first attack, and were there suffocated or slain; others, who vainly endeavoured to pass the rugged banks of the Bannockburn, were slain in that quarter; so completely was this little river heaped up with the dead bodies of men and horses, that the pursuers passed dry over the

* Hutchinson's Hist. and Antiquities of the Palatinate of Durham, p. 261. "The Bishop of Durham, Richard Kellow, had a short time before presented this war-horse, an animal of high price, along with one thousand marks to King Edward."

† Barbour, p. 263.

mass as if it were a bridge. Thirty thousand of the English were left dead upon the field, and amongst these two hundred knights and seven hundred esquires. A large body of Welsh fled, under the command of Sir Maurice Berkelay, but the greater part of them were slain, or taken prisoners, before they reached England.*

Such also might have been the fate of the King of England himself, had Bruce been able to spare a sufficient body of cavalry to follow up the chase. But when Edward left the field, with his five hundred horse, many straggling parties of the enemy still lingered about the low grounds, and numbers had taken refuge under the walls, and in the hollow recesses of the rock, on which Stirling castle is built.† These, had they rallied, might have still created much annoyance, a part of the Scottish army being occupied in plundering the camp; and it thus became absolutely necessary for Bruce to keep the more efficient part of his troops together. When Douglas, therefore, proposed to pursue the king, he could obtain no more than sixty horsemen. In passing the Torwood, he was met by Sir Laurence Abernethy, hastening with a small body of cavalry to join the English. This knight immediately deserted a falling cause, and assisted in the chase. They made up to the fugitive monarch at Lithgow, but Douglas deemed it imprudent to hazard an attack with so inferior a force. He pressed so hard upon him, however, as not to suffer the English to have a moment's rest; and it is a strong proof of the panic which had seized them, that a body of five hundred heavy horse, armed to the teeth, fled before eighty Scottish cavalry, without attempting to

* Barbour, pp. 266, 267.

† Ibid.

make a stand. But it is probable they believed Douglas to be the advance of the army.* Edward at last gained the castle of Dunbar, where he was hospitably received by the Earl of March, and from which he passed by sea to Berwick. In the meantime, Bruce sent a party to attack the fugitives who clustered round the rock of Stirling. These were immediately made prisoners, and having ascertained that no enemy remained, the king permitted his soldiers to pursue the fugitives, and give themselves up to plunder. The unfortunate stragglers were slaughtered by the peasantry, as they were dispersed over the country; and many of them, casting away their arms and accoutrements, hid themselves in the woods, or fled almost naked from the field.† Some idea of the extent and variety of the booty which was divided by the Scottish soldiers, may be formed from the circumstance mentioned by an English historian, “That the chariots, waggons, and wheeled carriages, which were loaded with the baggage and military stores, would, if drawn up in a line, have extended for twenty leagues.”‡

These, along with numerous herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep and swine; store of hay, corn and wine; the vessels of gold and silver belonging to the king and his nobility; the money-chests holding the treasure for the payment of the troops; a large assemblage of splendid arms, rich wearing apparel, horse and tent furniture, from the royal wardrobe and private repositories of the knights and noblemen who were in the field; and a great booty in valuable horses, fell into the hands of the conquerors, and were distributed by Bruce amongst his soldiers with a generosity and im-

* Henry Knighton, p. 2533. Walsingham, p. 105.

† Monachi Malmesbur. p. 151.

‡ Ibid. p. 147.

partiality which rendered him highly popular. Besides all this, Edward had brought along with him many instruments of war, and machines employed in the besieging of towns, such as petronels, trebuchets, mangonels, and battering rams, which, intended for the demolition of the Scottish castles, now fell into the hands of Bruce, to be turned, in future wars, against England. The living booty, too, in the many prisoners of rank who were taken, was great. Twenty-two barons and bannerets, and sixty knights, fell into the hands of the Scots. Considering the grievous injuries which he had personally sustained, the King of Scotland evinced a generous forbearance in the uses of his victory, which does him high honour: not only was there no unnecessary slaughter, no uncalled-for severity of retaliation, but, in their place, we find a high-toned courtesy, which has called forth the praises of his enemies.* The body of the young and noble Earl of Gloucester was reverently carried to a neighbouring church, and every holy rite duly observed. It was afterwards sent to England, along with the last remains of the brave Lord Clifford, to be interred with the honours due to their rank. The rest of the slain were reverently buried upon the field.† Early next morning, as the king examined the ground, Sir Marmaduke de Twenge, who had lurked all night in the woods, presented himself to Bruce, and, kneeling down, delivered himself as his prisoner. Bruce kindly raised him, retained him in his company for some time, and then dismissed him, not only without ransom, but enriched with presents.‡

It happened, that one Baston, a Carmelite friar, and

* Joh. de Trokelowe, p. 28.

† Barbour, p. 273.

‡ Ibid. p. 269.

esteemed an excellent poet, had been commanded by Edward to accompany the army, that he might immortalize the expected triumph of his master. He was taken; and Bruce commanded him, as an appropriate ransom, to celebrate the victory of the Scots at Bannockburn—a task which he has accomplished in a composition which still remains an extraordinary relic of the Leonine, or rhyming hexameters.*

On the day after the battle, Mowbray, the English governor of Stirling, having delivered up that fortress, according to the terms of the truce, entered into the service of the King of Scotland; and the Earl of Hereford, who had taken refuge in Bothwell castle, then in the hands of the English, capitulated, after a short siege, to Edward Bruce. This nobleman was exchanged for five illustrious prisoners, Bruce's wife, his sister Christian, his daughter Marjory, Wishart the Bishop of Glasgow, now blind, and the young Earl of Mar, nephew to the king. John de Segrave, made prisoner at Bannockburn, was ransomed for five Scottish barons; so that, in these exchanges, the English appear to have received nothing like an adequate value. The riches obtained by the plunder of the English, and the subsequent ransom paid for the multitude of prisoners, must have been great. The exact amount cannot be easily estimated, but some idea of it may be formed from the tone of deep lamentation assumed by the Monk of Malmesbury. "O day of vengeance and of misfortune!" says he, "day of disgrace and perdition! unworthy to be included in the circle of the year, which tarnished the fame of England, and enriched the Scots with the plunder of the precious stuffs of our nation, to the extent of two hundred thousand

* Fordun a Goodal, p. 251.

pounds. Alas ! of how many noble barons, and accomplished knights, and high-spirited young soldiers,—of what a store of excellent arms, and golden vessels, and costly vestments, did one short and miserable day deprive us !”* Two hundred thousand pounds of money in those times, amounts to about six hundred thousand pounds weight of silver, or nearly three millions of our present money. It is remarkable that Sir William Vipont, and Sir Walter Ross, the bosom friend of Edward Bruce, were the only persons of note who were slain on the side of the Scots, whose loss, even in common men, was small ; proving how effectually their squares had repelled the English cavalry.

Such was the great battle of Bannockburn, interesting above all others which have been fought between the then rival nations, if we consider the issue which hung upon it ; and glorious to Scotland, both in the determined courage with which it was disputed by the troops, the high military talents displayed by the king and his leaders, and the amazing disparity between the numbers of the combatants. Its consequences were in the highest degree important. It put an end for ever to all hopes upon the part of England of accomplishing the conquest of her sister country. The plan, of which we can discern the foundations as far back as the reign of Alexander III., and for the furtherance of which the first Edward was content to throw away so much of treasure and blood, was put down in the way in which all such schemes ought to be defeated—by the strong hand of free-born men, who were determined to remain so ; and the spirit of indignant resistance to foreign power, which had been awakened by

* Mon. Malmesburiensis, p. 152.

Wallace, but crushed for a season by the dissensions of a jealous nobility, was concentrated by the master-spirit of Bruce, and found fully adequate to overwhelm the united military energies of a kingdom, far superior to Scotland in all that constituted military strength. Nor have the consequences of this victory been partial or confined. Their duration throughout succeeding centuries of Scottish history and Scottish liberty, down to the hour in which this is written, cannot be questioned; and without launching out into any inappropriate field of historical speculation, we have only to think of the most obvious consequences which must have resulted from Scotland becoming a conquered province of England; and if we wish for proof, to fix our eyes on the present condition of Ireland, in order to feel the reality of all that we owe to the victory at Bannockburn, and to the memory of such men as Bruce, Randolph, and Douglas.

CHAP. IV.

ROBERT BRUCE.

1314—1329.

 CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

King of England.
Edward II.

Kings of France.
Philip IV.
Lewis X.
Philip V.
Charles IV.

Popes.
Clement V.
John XII.

A DEEP and general panic seized the English, after the disastrous defeat at Bannockburn. The weak and undecided character of the king infected his nobility, and the common soldiers having lost all confidence in their officers, became feeble and dispirited themselves. “A hundred English would not hesitate,” says Walsingham, “to fly from two or three Scottish soldiers, so grievously had their wonted courage deserted them.”* Taking advantage of this dejection, the king, in the beginning of autumn,† sent Douglas and Edward Bruce across the eastern marches, with an army which wasted Northumberland, and carried fire and sword through the principality of Durham, where they levied severe contributions. They next pushed forward into Yorkshire, and plundered Richmond, driving away a large body of cattle, and making many

* Walsingham, p. 106.

† It was before the 10th of August. *Rotuli Scotiae*, vol. i. p. 129.

prisoners. On their way homeward, they burnt Appleby and Kirkwold, sacked and set fire to the villages in their route, and found the English so dispirited everywhere, that their army reached Scotland, loaded with spoil, and unchallenged by an enemy.* Edward, indignant at their successes, issued his writs for the muster of a new army to be assembled from the different wapentachs of Yorkshire; commanded ships to be commissioned and victualled for a second Scottish expedition; and appointed the Earl of Pembroke to be governor of the country between Berwick and the river Trent, with the arduous charge of defending it against reiterated attacks, and, to use the words of the royal commission, “the burnings, slaughters, and inhuman and sacrilegious depredations of the Scots.”† These, however, were only parchment levies; and before a single vessel was manned, or a single horseman had put his foot in the stirrup, the indefatigable Bruce had sent a second army into England, which ravaged Redesdale and Tynedale, again marking their progress by the black ashes of the towns and villages, and compelling the miserable inhabitants of the border countries to surrender their whole wealth, and to purchase their lives with large sums of money.‡ From this they diverged in their destructive progress into Cumberland, and either from despair, or from inclination, and a desire to plunder, many of the English borderers joined the invading army, and swore allegiance to the Scottish king.§

Alarmed at these visitations, and finding little protection from the inactivity of Edward, and the dis-

* Chron. Lanercost, p. 228.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 129. 10th August, 1314.

‡ Chron. Lanercost, p. 229. § Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. pp. 152, 153.

union and intrigues of the nobility, the barons and clergy of the northern parts of England assembled at York; and having entered into a confederacy for the protection of their neighbourhood against the Scots, appointed four captains to command the forces of the country, and to adopt measures for the public safety. Edward immediately confirmed this nomination, and, for the pressing nature of the emergency, the measure was not impolitic; but these border troops soon forgot their allegiance, and, upon the failure of their regular supplies from the king's exchequer, became little better than the Scots themselves, plundering the country, and subsisting themselves by every species of theft, robbery,* and murder.

Robert wisely seized this period of distress and national dejection, to make pacific overtures to Edward, and to assure him that, having secured the independence of his kingdom, there was nothing which he more anxiously desired, than a firm and lasting peace between the two nations. Negotiations soon after followed. Four Scottish ambassadors met with the commissioners of England, and various attempts were made for the establishment of a perpetual peace, or at least of a temporary truce between the rival countries; but these entirely failed, owing, probably, to the high tone assumed by the Scottish envoys; and the termination of this destructive war appeared still more distant than before.† Towards the end of this year, the

* *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 137, 10th January, 1314. Walsingham, p. 110. Lord Hailes has stated, that Edward assembled a parliament at York in 1314, and quotes the *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 491, 493, for his authority. This, I think, must be an error; as these pages rather prove that no parliament was then assembled, nor is there any writ for a parliament in Rymer in this year at all. Walsingham, p. 106, says, indeed, that the king held a great council at York, immediately after his flight from Bannockburn.

† *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 131. Everwyk, 18th September, 1314. See also pp. 132, 133, 6th October, 1314.

unfortunate John Baliol died in exile at his ancient patrimonial castle of Bailleul, in France, having lived to see the utter demolition of a power which had insulted and dethroned him. He had been suffered to retain a small property in England; and his eldest son appears to have been living in that country, and under the protection of Edward, at the time of his father's death.*

In addition to the miseries of foreign war and intestine commotion, England was now visited with a grievous famine, which increased to an excessive degree the prices of provisions, and, combined with the destructive inroads of the Scots, reduced the kingdom to a miserable condition. A parliament, which assembled at London in January, (1314-15,) endeavoured, with short-sighted policy, to provide some remedy in lowering the market price of the various necessaries of life; and making it imperative upon the seller, either to dispose of his live stock at certain fixed rates, or to forfeit them to the crown†—a measure which a subsequent parliament found it necessary to repeal.‡ The same assembly granted to the king a twentieth of their goods, upon the credit of which, he requested a loan from the abbots and priors of the various convents in his dominions, for the purpose of raising an army against the Scots.§ But the king's credit was too low, the clergy too cautious, and the barons of the crown too discontented, to give efficiency to this intended muster, and no army appeared. The famine, which had begun in England, now extended to Scotland; and as that country became dependent upon

* *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 506, 4th January, 1315.

† *Rotuli Parl.* 8 Edw. II., n. 35, 86, quoted in *Tyrrel*, vol. iii. p. 263.

‡ *Tyrrel*, vol. iii. p. 265.

§ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 263. *Rymer*, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 511.

foreign importation, the merchants of England, Ireland, and Wales, were rigorously interdicted from supplying it with grain, cattle, arms, or any other commodities. Small squadrons of ships were employed to cruise round the island, so as to intercept all foreign supplies; and letters were directed to the Earl of Flanders, and to the Counts of Holland, Lunenburg, and Brabant, requesting them to put a stop to all commercial intercourse between their dominions and Scotland—a request with which these sagacious and wealthy little states peremptorily refused to comply.*

In the spring, another Scottish army broke in upon Northumberland, again ravaged the principality of Durham, sacked the seaport of Hartlepool, and, after collecting their plunder, compelled the inhabitants to redeem their property and their freedom by a high tribute. Carrying their arms to the gates of York, they wasted the country with fire and sword, and reduced the wretched English to the lowest extremity of poverty and despair.† Carlisle, Newcastle, and Berwick, defended by strong fortifications, and well garrisoned, were now the only cities of refuge where there was security for property; and to these towns the peasantry flocked for protection, whilst the barons and nobility, instead of assembling their vassals to repel the common enemy, spent their time in idleness and jollity in the capital.‡

An important measure, relating to the succession of the crown, now occupied the attention of the Estates of Scotland, in a parliament held at Ayr, on the 26th of April. By a solemn act of settlement, it was deter-

* *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. pp. 135, 136. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 770. Edward wrote also to the magistrates of Dam, Nieuport, Dunkirk, Ypre, and Mechlin, to the same import. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 12 Edw. II., m. 8.

† *Chronicle of Lanercost*, pp. 230, 231.

‡ *Walsingham*, p. 107.

mined, with the consent of the king, and of his daughter and presumptive heir, Marjory, that the crown, in the event of Bruce's death, without heirs male of his body, should descend to his brother, Edward Bruce, a man of tried valour, and much practised in war. It was moreover provided, with consent of the king, and of his brother Edward, that, failing Edward and his heirs male, Marjory should immediately succeed; and failing her, the nearest heir lineally descended of the body of King Robert; but under the express condition, that Marjory should not marry without the consent of her father, and failing him, of the majority of the Estates of Scotland. If it happened, that either the king, or his brother Edward, or Marjory his daughter, should die, leaving an heir male, who was a minor, in that event Thomas Randolph earl of Moray was constituted guardian of the heir, and of the kingdom, till the Estates considered the heir of a fit age to administer the government in his own person; and in the event of the death of Marjory, without children, the same noble person was appointed to this office, if he chose to accept the burden, until the states and community, in their wisdom, determine the rightful succession to the crown.*

Not long after this, the king bestowed his daughter Marjory in marriage upon Walter the hereditary High-steward of Scotland; an important union, which gave heirs to the Scottish crown, and afterwards to the throne of the United Kingdoms.†

An extraordinary episode in the history of the kingdom now claims our attention. Edward Bruce, the king's brother, a man of restless ambition, and undaunted enterprise, fixed his eyes upon Ireland, at this

* Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. pp. 256, 258. Robertson's Index, pp. 7, 8.

† Stuart's History of the Stewarts, p. 18.

time animated by a strong spirit of resistance against its English masters ; and having entered into a secret correspondence with its discontented chieftains, he conceived the bold idea of reducing that island by force of arms, and becoming its king.* A desire to harass England in a very vulnerable quarter, and a wish to afford employment, at a distance, to a temper which was so imperious at home,† that it began to threaten disturbance to the kingdom, induced the King of Scotland to agree to a project replete with difficulty ; and Edward Bruce, with six thousand men, landed at Carrickfergus, in the north of Ireland, on the 25th of May, 1315. He was accompanied by the Earl of Moray, Sir Philip Mowbray, Sir John Soulis, Sir Fergus of Ardrossan, and Ramsay of Ochterhouse. In a series of battles, which it would be foreign to the object of this history to enumerate, although they bear testimony to the excellent discipline of the Scottish knights and soldiers, Edward Bruce overran the provinces of Down, Armagh, Louth, Meath, and Kildare ; but was compelled by want, and the reduced numbers of his little army, to retreat into Ulster, and despatch the Earl of Moray for new succours into Scotland. He was soon after crowned King of Ireland, and immediately after his assumption of the regal dignity, laid siege to Carrickfergus. On being informed of the situation of his brother's affairs, King Robert intrusted the government of the kingdom to his son-in-law the Steward, and Sir James Douglas. He

* Barbour, p. 277.

† Neither Lord Hailes nor any other Scottish historian take notice of the ambitious and factious character of Edward Bruce, although Fordun expressly says:—"Iste Edwardus erat homo ferox, et magni cordis valde, nec voluit cohabitare fratri suo in pace, nisi dimidium regni solus haberet ; et hac de causa mota fuit guerra in Hibernia, ubi ut præmittitur finivit vitam."—Fordun a Hearne, p. 1009.

then passed over to the assistance of the new king, with a considerable body of troops; and, after their junction, the united armies, having reduced Carrickfergus, pushed forward through the county Louth, to Slane, and invested Dublin; but being compelled to raise the siege, they advanced into Kilkenny, wasted the country as far as Limerick, and after experiencing the extremities of famine, and defeating the enemy wherever they made head against them, terminated a glorious but fruitless expedition, by a retreat into the province of Ulster, in the spring of 1317.*

The king of Scotland now returned to his dominions, taking along with him the Earl of Moray, but having left the flower of his army to support his brother in the possession of Ulster. A miserable fate awaited these brave men. After a long period of inaction, in which neither the Irish annals nor our early Scottish historians afford any certain light, we find King Edward Bruce encamped at Tagher, near Dundalk, at the head of a force of two thousand men, exclusive of the native Irish, who were numerous, but badly armed and disciplined. Against him, Lord John Bermingham, along with John Maupas, Sir Miles Verdon, Sir Hugh Tripton, and other Anglo-Irish barons, led an army which was strong in cavalry, and outnumbered the Scots by nearly ten to one. Edward, with his characteristic contempt of danger, and nothing daunted by the disparity of force, determined, against the advice of his oldest captains, to give the enemy battle. In the course of a three years' war, he had already engaged the Anglo-Irish forces eighteen times; and although his success had led to no impor-

* Fordun a Hearne, p. 1008.

tant result, he had been uniformly victorious.* But his fiery career was now destined to be quenched, and his short-lived sovereignty to have an end. On the 5th of October, 1318, the two armies joined battle, and the Scots were almost immediately discomfited.† At the first onset, John Maupas slew King Edward Bruce, and was himself found slain, and stretched upon the body of his enemy. Sir John Soulis and Sir John Stewart also fell; and the rout becoming general, the slaughter was great. A miserable remnant, however, escaping from the field, under John Thomson, the leader of the men of Carrick, made good their retreat to Carrickfergus, and from thence reached Scotland. Two thousand Scottish soldiers were left dead upon the spot, and amongst these some of Bruce's best captains.‡ Thus ended an expedition which, if conducted by a spirit of more judicious and deliberate valour than distinguished its prime mover, might have produced the most serious annoyance to England. Unmindful of the generous courtesy of Bruce's behaviour after the battle of Bannockburn, the English treated the body of the King of Ireland with studied indignity. It was quartered and distributed as a public spectacle over Ireland, and the head was presented to the English king by Lord John Bermingham, who, as a reward for his victory, was created Earl of Louth.§

Having given a continuous sketch of this disastrous enterprise, which, from its commencement till the death of Edward, occupied a period of three years, we shall return to the affairs of Scotland, where the wise administration of King Robert brought security and

* I have here followed the authority of Barbour, p. 317.

† Barbour, p. 364.

‡ Their names will be found in Trivet, contin. p. 29.

§ Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 767.

happiness to the people both at home and in their foreign relations.

The ships which had transported Edward Bruce and his army to Ireland, were immediately sent home ; and the king undertook an expedition against the Western Isles, some of which had acknowledged his dominion ;* whilst others, under John of Argyle, the firm ally of England, had continued for a long time to harass and annoy the commerce of his kingdom. Although constantly occupied in a land war, during the course of which he had brought his army into a high state of discipline, Bruce had never been blind to the strength which he must acquire by having a fleet which could cope with the maritime power of his rival ; and from the complaints of the English monarch in the state papers of the times, we know, that on both sides of the island, the Scottish vessels, and those of their allies, kept the English coast towns in a state of constant alarm.†

Their fleets seem to have been partly composed of privateers, as well Flemish as Scottish, which, under the protection of the king, roved about, and attacked the English merchantmen. Thus, during Edward Bruce's expedition, he met, when on the Irish coast, and surrounded with difficulties, with Thomas of Doune, a Scottish "scoumar," or freebooter, "of the se," who, with a small squadron of four ships, sailed up the river Ban, and extricated his countrymen from their‡ perilous situation.

In his expedition to the Isles, Bruce was accompa-

* *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 233.

† *Rotuli Scot.* vol. i. p. 151, date 6th November, 1315.

‡ *Barbour*, book x. p. 238. In *Leland*, *Collect.* vol. i. p. 549, we find, in an extract from the *Scala Chron.*, "One Cryne, a Fleming, an admiral, and great robber on the se, and in high favour with Robert Bruce."

nied by his son-in-law, the Steward of Scotland, and having sailed up the entrance of Loch Fine to Tarbet, he dragged his vessels upon a slide, composed of smooth planks of trees, laid parallel to each other, across the narrow neck of land which separates the lochs of East and West Tarbet. The distance was little more than an English mile; and by this expedient Bruce not only saved the necessity of doubling the Mull of Kentire, to the small craft of those days often a fatal enterprise, but availed himself of a superstitious belief then current amongst the Western islanders, that they should never be subdued till their invader sailed across the isthmus of Tarbet.* The presence of the king in the Western Isles was soon followed by the submission of all the little pirate chiefs who had given him disturbance, and by the capture and imprisonment of John of Lorn, who, since his defeat at Cruachin Ben, had been constantly in the pay of Edward, with the proud title of Admiral of the Western fleet of England.† This island prince was first committed to Dumbarton castle, and afterwards shut up in the castle of Lochleven, where he died.‡ After the termination of his peaceful maritime campaign, the king indulged himself and his friends in the diversion of the chase; whilst, at home, his army, under Douglas, continued to insult and plunder the English Border counties.§ On his return from the Western Isles, Bruce undertook the siege of Carlisle; but, after having assaulted

* Barbour, p. 302. The fishermen constantly drag their boats across this neck of land. Tar-bat for trag-bat, or drag-boat.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, p. 121. This John of Lorn seems to be the same person as the John of Argyle, so frequently mentioned in the Rotuli.

‡ Barbour, p. 303.

§ Leland, Collect. vol. i. p. 24. Douglas wasted Egremont, plundered St Bees' Priory, and destroyed two manors belonging to the prior. The work quoted by Leland is an anonymous MS. History of the Abbots of St Mary's, York, by a monk of the same religious house.

it for ten days, he was compelled, by the strength of the works and the spirit of its townsmen and garrison, to draw off his troops. Berwick, too, was threatened from the side next the sea by the Scottish ships, which attempted to steal up the river unperceived by the enemy, but were discovered, and bravely repulsed.* Against these reiterated insults, Edward, unable from his extreme unpopularity to raise an army, contented himself with querulous complaints, and with some ineffectual advances towards a reconciliation,† which as yet was far distant.

About this time, to the great joy of the King of Scotland and of the nation, the Princess Marjory bore a son, Robert, who was destined, after the death of David, his uncle, to succeed to the throne, and become the first of the royal house of Stewart; but grief soon followed joy, for the young mother died almost immediately after child-birth.‡

Undaunted by the partial check which they had received before Carlisle and Berwick, the activity of the Scots gave the English perpetual employment. On one side they attacked Wales, apparently making descents from their ships upon the coast; and Edward, trembling for the security of his new principality, countermanded the Welsh levies which were about to join his army, and enjoined them to remain at home; but he accompanied this with an order to give hostages for their fidelity, naturally dreading the effect of the example of the Scots upon a nation, whose

* Chron. Lanercost, pp. 230, 231, 264. This was in the end of July, 1315.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, 9 Ed. II., m. 6, p. 149.

‡ Fordun a Goodal, book xii. c. 25. Hailes, vol. ii. p. 81. It is strange that Fordun himself does neither mention the birth of Robert the Second, nor the death of his mother. See Fordun a Hearne, p. 1003, 1009. Winton, too, says nothing of her death.

fetters were yet new and galling.* On the other side, King Robert in person led his army, about midsummer, into Yorkshire, and wasted the country, without meeting an enemy, as far as Richmond. A timely tribute, collected by the neighbouring barons and gentlemen, saved this town from the flames; but this merely altered the order of march into the West Riding, which was cruelly sacked and spoiled for sixty miles round, after which the army returned with their booty and many prisoners.† Bruce then embarked for Ireland; and soon after the English king, encouraged by his absence and that of Randolph, summoned his military vassals to meet him at Newcastle, and determined to invade Scotland with great strength; but the Earl of Lancaster, to whom the conduct of the enterprise was intrusted, and the barons of his party, having in vain waited at Newcastle for the king's arrival, returned home in displeasure;‡ so that the original design of Edward broke down into several smaller invasions, in repelling which, the activity and military enterprise of Sir James Douglas and the Steward, not only kept up, but materially increased, the Scottish ascendancy. In Douglas, the adventurous spirit of chivalry was finely united with the character of an experienced commander. At this time he held his quarters at Linthaughlee, near Jedburgh; and having information that the Earl of Arundel, with Sir Thomas de Richemont, and an English force of ten thousand men, had crossed the Borders, he determined to attack him in a narrow pass, through which his line of march lay, and which was flanked on each side by a

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 620. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 159, 4th August.

† Chron. Lanercost, p. 233.

‡ Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 267.

wood. Having thickly twisted together the young birch trees on either side, so as to prevent escape,* he concealed his archers in a hollow way near the gorge of the pass, and when the English ranks were compressed by the narrowness of the road, and it was impossible for their cavalry to act with effect, he rushed upon them at the head of his horsemen, whilst the archers, suddenly discovering themselves, poured in a flight of arrows, so that the unwieldy mass was thrown into confusion, and took to flight. In the melee, Douglas slew Thomas de Richemont with his dagger; and although, from his inferiority of force, he did not venture to pursue the enemy into the open country, yet they were compelled to retreat with great slaughter.†

Soon after this, Edmund de Cailou, a knight of Gascony, whom Edward had appointed to be Governor of Berwick, was encountered by Douglas, as the foreigner returned to England loaded with plunder, from an inroad into Teviotdale. Cailou was killed; and, after the slaughter of many of the foreign mercenaries, the accumulated booty of the Merse and Teviotdale was recovered by the Scots. Exactly similar to that of Cailou, was the fate of Sir Ralph Neville. This baron, on hearing the high report of Douglas's prowess, from some of De Cailou's fugitive soldiers, openly boasted that he would fight with the Scottish knight, if he would come and show his banner before Berwick. Douglas, who deemed himself bound to accept the challenge, immediately marched into the neighbourhood of that town, and, within sight of the garrison, caused a party of his men to waste the country, and burn the villages. Neville instantly

* Barbour, p. 324.

† Ibid. p. 323.

quitted Berwick with a strong body of men, and, encamping upon a high ground, waited till the Scots should disperse to plunder ; but Douglas called in his detachment, and instantly marched against the enemy. After a desperate conflict, in which many were slain, Douglas, as was his custom, succeeded in bringing the leader to a personal encounter, and the superior strength and skill of the Scottish knight were again successful. Neville was slain, and his men utterly discomfited.* An old English chronicle ascribes this disaster to “ the treason of the marchers ;” but it is difficult to discover in what the treason consisted. Many other soldiers of distinction were taken prisoners, and Douglas, without opposition, ravaged the country, drove away the cattle, left the towns and villages in flames, and returned to Scotland. So terrible did the exploits of this hardy warrior become upon the Borders, that Barbour, who lived in his time, informs us, the English mothers were accustomed to pacify their children by threatening them with the name of the “ Black Douglas.”†

Repulsed with so much disgrace in these attempts by land, the English monarch fitted out a fleet, and invaded Scotland, sailing into the Firth of Forth, and landing his armament at Dunyirstle. The panic created by the English was so great, that the sheriff of the county had difficulty in assembling five hundred cavalry, and these, intimidated by the superior numbers of the enemy, disgracefully took to flight. Fortunately, however, a spirited prelate, Sinclair bishop of Dunkeld, who had more in him of the warrior than the ecclesiastic, received timely notice of this

* Leland, Collect. vol. i. p. 547. Barbour, p. 309.

† Barbour. p. 310.

desertion. Putting himself at the head of sixty of his servants, and with nothing clerical about him, except a linen frock, or rochet, cast over his armour, he threw himself on horseback, and succeeded in rallying the fugitives, telling their leaders that they were recreant knights, and deserved to have their gilt spurs hacked off. "Turn," said he, seizing a spear from the nearest soldier, "turn, for shame, and let all who love Scotland follow me!" With this he furiously charged the English, who were driven back to their ships with the loss of five hundred men, besides many who were drowned by the swamping of one of the vessels. On his return from Ireland, Bruce highly commended his spirit, declaring that Sinclair should be his own bishop; and by the name of the King's Bishop this hardy prelate was long remembered in Scotland.*

Unable to make any impression with temporal arms, the King of England next had recourse to the thunders of spiritual warfare; and in the servile character of Pope John the Twenty-second, he found a fit tool for his purpose. By a bull, issued from Avignon, in the beginning of 1317, the pope commanded the observance of a truce between the hostile countries for two years; but the style of this mandate evinced a decided partiality to England. Giving the title of King of England to Edward, he only designated Bruce as his beloved son, "carrying himself as King of Scotland;"† and when he despatched two cardinals as his legates into Britain, for the purpose of publishing this truce upon the spot, they were privately empowered, in case of any opposition, to inflict upon the King of Scotland the highest spiritual censures. In the same secret man-

* Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 259. † Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 594.

ner, he furnished them with a bull, to be made public if circumstances so required, by which Robert Bruce and his brother Edward were declared excommunicated persons.* The pope also directed another bull against the order of Minorite Friars, who, by their discourses, had instigated the Irish to join the Scottish invaders, and rise in rebellion against the English government. These attempts to deprive him of his just rights, and to overawe him into peace, were met by a firm resistance on the part of Bruce; who, placed in a trying and delicate situation, evinced, in his opposition to the papal interference, a remarkable union of unshaken courage, with sound judgment and good temper, contriving to maintain the independence of his crown; whilst, at the same time, he professed all due respect for the authority of his spiritual father, as head of the church

Charged with their important commissions, the cardinals arrived in England at the time when Lewis de Beaumont was about to be consecrated Bishop of Durham. Their first step was to despatch two nuncios, the Bishop of Corbeil and Master Aumery,† who were intrusted with the delivery of the papal letters to the Scottish king, and with the bulls of excommunication. As Durham lay on their road, Master Aumery and his brother nuncio set out with the bishop elect, and a splendid suite of churchmen and barons, intending to be present at the inauguration. But it proved an ill-fated journey for these unfortunate envoys. The Borders at this time were in a wild and disorderly state. Many of the gentry and barons of England, as already noticed, had entered into armed associations for the defence of the marches, against the destructive

* Dated 4th April, 1317.

† Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 661.

inroads of the Scots; but the habits of loose warfare, the extremities of famine, and the unpopularity of the king's person and government, had, in the course of years, transformed themselves and their soldiers into robbers who mercilessly ravaged the country.* Anxious in every way to increase the confusions which then distracted the English government, the King of Scotland kept up an intelligence with these marauders; and, on the present occasion, aware of the hostility which was meditated against him by the cardinals, and of their attachment to his enemy, it seems very probable that he employed two leaders of these broken men, Gilbert de Middleton and Walter Selby, to intercept the nuncios, and make themselves masters of their letters and secret instructions. It is certain that, on the approach of the cavalcade to Rushy Ford, a large body of soldiers, headed by these lawless chiefs, rushed out from a wood near the road, and in a short time made the whole party prisoners; seized and stript of their purple and scarlet apparel the unfortunate churchmen; rifled and carried off their luggage and horses; but, without offering violence to their persons, dismissed them to prosecute their journey to Scotland. The bishop elect, and his brother Henry de Beaumont, were carried to Middleton's castle of Mitford; nor were they liberated from their dungeon till their plate, jewels, and the rich vestments of the cathedral, were sold to raise money for their ransom.†

Meanwhile, the papal nuncios, in disconsolate plight, proceeded into Scotland, and arrived at court. Bruce received them courteously, and listened with attention

* Walsingham, p. 107.

† Tyrrel, *Hist.* vol. iii. p. 269. Hutchinson's *History and Antiquities of Durham*, p. 267. 1st Sept. 1317.

to the message with which they were charged.* Having then consulted with those of his counsellors who were present, upon the proposals, he replied, that he earnestly desired a firm peace between the kingdoms, to be procured by all honourable means; but that as long as he was only addressed as Governor of Scotland, and his own title of king withheld from him, it was impossible for him, without convening his whole council, and the other barons of his realm, to admit the cardinal legates to an interview; nor was it possible for him, before the Feast of St Michael, to summon any council for this purpose. "Among my subjects," said the king, "there are many bearing the name of Robert Bruce, who share, with the rest of my barons, in the government of the kingdom. These letters may possibly be addressed to them; and it is for this reason, that although I have permitted the papal letters, which advise a peace, to be read, as well as your open letters on the same subject, yet to these, as they refuse to me my title of king, I will give no answer, nor will I by any means suffer your sealed letters, which are not directed to the King of Scotland, to be opened in my presence."

The nuncios upon this endeavoured to offer an apology for the omission, by observing, that it was not customary for our holy mother the church either to do or to say anything during the dependence of a controversy, which might prejudice the right of either of the parties. "If then," replied Bruce, "my spiritual father and my holy mother have professed themselves unwilling to create a prejudice against my opponent, by giving to me the title of king, I am at a loss to determine why they have thought proper to

* Rymer, vol. iii. p. 662.

prejudice my cause, by withdrawing that title from me during the dependence of the controversy. I am in possession of the kingdom. All my subjects call me king, and by that title do other kings and royal princes address me ; but I perceive that my spiritual parents assume an evident partiality amongst their sons. Had you," he continued, "presumed to present letters so addressed to other kings, you might have received an answer in a different style. But I reverence your authority, and entertain all due respect for the Holy See." The messengers now requested that the king would command a temporary cessation of hostilities. "To this," replied Bruce, "I can by no means consent, without the advice of my parliament, and especially whilst the English are in the daily practice of spoiling the property of my subjects, and invading all parts of my realm." During this interview, the king expressed himself with great courtesy, professing all respect for his spiritual Father, and delivering his resolute answers with a mild and placid countenance.* The two nuncios, it seems, had taken along with them into the king's presence another papal messenger, who, having come some time before to inform the Scottish prelates of the coronation of the pope, had been refused admission into Scotland. For this person, who had now waited some months without being permitted to execute his mission, the messengers entreated the king's indulgence ; but Bruce, although the discarded envoy stood in the presence-chamber, took no notice of him, and changed the subject with an expression of countenance, which at once imposed silence, and intimated a refusal. When the nuncios questioned the secretaries

* These interesting particulars we learn from the original letter of the nuncios themselves. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 662.

of the king regarding the cause of this severity, they at once replied, that their master conceived that these letters had not been addressed to him, solely because the pope was unwilling to give him his royal titles. The Scottish councillors informed the nuncios, that if the letters had been addressed to the King of Scots, the negotiations for peace would have immediately commenced ; but that neither the king nor his advisers would hear of a treaty, so long as the royal title was withheld, seeing that they were convinced that this slight had been put upon their sovereign through the influence of England, and in contempt of the people of Scotland.*

Repulsed by Bruce with so much firmness and dignity, the Bishop of Corbeil returned with haste to the cardinals. They had remained all this time at Durham, and anxious to fulfil their mission, they now determined at all hazards to publish the papal truce in Scotland. For this purpose the papal bulls and instruments were intrusted to Adam Newton, the Father-Guardian of the Minorite Friars of Berwick, who was commanded to repair to the presence of Bruce, and to deliver the letters of his Holiness to the King of Scotland, as well as to the Bishop of St Andrews, and the Scottish prelates. Newton accordingly set out for Scotland, but, anticipating no cordial reception, cautiously left the papal bulls and letters at Berwick, until he should be assured of a safe conduct. After a journey of much hardship and peril, the friar found King Robert encamped with his army, in a wood near Old Cambus, a small town about twelve miles distant from Berwick, busily engaged in constructing warlike engines for the assault of that city, although it was now the middle of December. Having conferred with Lord

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 661.

Alexander Seton, the seneschal of the king, and received a safe conduct, Newton returned for his papers and credentials to Berwick, and again repaired to Old Cambus. He was then informed by Seton, that Bruce would not admit him to a personal interview, but that he must deliver to him his letters, in order to their being inspected by the king, who was anxious to ascertain whether their contents were friendly or hostile. Newton obeyed, and Bruce observing that the letters and papal instruments were not addressed to him as King of Scotland, returned them to the friar with much contempt, declaring that he would on no account obey the bulls, so long as his royal titles were withheld, and that he was determined to make himself master of Berwick. The envoy then publicly declared, before the Scottish barons, and a great concourse of spectators, that a two years' truce was, by the authority of the pope, to be observed by the two kingdoms; but his proclamation was treated with such open marks of insolence and contempt, that he began to tremble for the safety of his person, and earnestly implored them to permit him to pass forward into Scotland, to the presence of those prelates with whom he was commanded to confer, or at least to have a safe conduct back again to Berwick. Both requests were denied him, and he was commanded, without delay, to make the best of his way out of the country. On his way to Berwick, the unfortunate monk was waylaid by four armed ruffians, robbed of his letters and papers, amongst which were the bulls excommunicating the King of Scotland, and after being stript to the skin, turned naked upon the road. "It is rumoured," says he, in an interesting letter addressed to the cardinals, containing the account of his mission, "that the Lord

Robert, and his accomplices, who instigated this outrage, are now in possession of the letters intrusted to me.”* There can be little doubt that the rumour rested on a pretty good foundation.

Throughout the whole of this negotiation, the pope was obviously in the interest of the King of England. Edward’s intrigues at the Roman court, and the pensions which he bestowed on the cardinals, induced his Holiness to proclaim a truce, which, in the present state of English affairs, was much to be desired ; but Bruce, supported by his own clergy, and secure of the affections of his people, despised all papal interference, and succeeded in maintaining the dignity and independence of his kingdom.

Having rid himself of such troublesome opposition, the Scottish king determined to proceed with the siege of Berwick, a town which, as the key to England, was at this time fortified in the strongest manner. Fortunately for the Scots, Edward had committed its defence to a governor, whose severity, and strict adherence to discipline, had disgusted some of the burgesses ; and one of these, named Spalding,† who had married a Scotchwoman, was seduced from his allegiance, and determined, on the night when it was his turn to take his part in the watch rounds, to assist the enemy in an escalade. This purpose he communicated to the Marshal, and he carried the intelligence directly to Bruce himself, who was not slow in taking advantage of it.‡ Douglas and Randolph, along with March, were commanded to assemble with a chosen body of men at Duns Park in the evening ; and at nightfall,

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 683, 684.

† Hardyng in his *Chronicle*, p. 308, Ellis’ edition, tells us, that Spalding, after betraying the town, went into Scotland, and was slain by the Scots.

‡ Barbour, p. 334.

having left their horses at the rendezvous, they marched to Berwick; and, by the assistance of Spalding, fixed their ladders, and scaled the walls. Orders seem to have been given by Bruce, that they should not proceed to storm the town, till reinforced by a stronger body; but Douglas and Randolph found it impossible to restrain their men, who dispersed themselves through the streets, to slay and plunder, whilst, panic-struck with the night attack, the citizens escaped over the walls, or threw themselves into the castle. When day arrived, this disobedience of orders had nearly been fatal to the Scots; for Roger Horsley, the governor of the castle,* discovering that they were but a handful of men, made a desperate sally, and all but recovered the city. Douglas, however, and Randolph, who were veterans in war, and dreaded such an event, had kept their own soldiers well together, and, assisted by a young knight, Sir William Keith of Galston, who greatly distinguished himself, they at last succeeded in driving the English back to the castle; thus holding good their conquest of the town, till Bruce came up with the rest of his army, and effectually secured it. The presence of the king, with the men of Merse and Teviotdale, intimidated the garrison of the castle, which soon surrendered; and Bruce, with that generous magnanimity which forms so fine a part of his character, disdaining to imitate the cruelty of Edward the First, readily gave quarter to all who were willing

* *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 175, 19th August. Lord Hailes, vol. ii. p. 78, seems to think it an error in Tyrrel, to imagine that there was a governor of the town, and a governor of the castle. But Tyrrel is in the right. John of Witham was governor or warden of the town, *Rot. Scot.* vol. i. p. 178, 30th Sept. 1317; and Roger of Horsley, governor of the castle, *Rotuli Scotiæ*, p. 175. Maitland, vol. i. p. 490, and Guthrie, vol. ii. p. 254, finding in Rymer, vol. iii. p. 516, that Maurice de Berkeley was governor of the town and castle of Berwick in 1315, erroneously imagine that he continued to be so in 1318.

to accept it. For this we have the testimony of the English historians, Thomas de la More, and Adam Murimuth, although the pope, in his bull of excommunication, represents him as having seized Berwick by treachery during a time of truce; and charges him moreover, with having committed a great and cruel slaughter of the inhabitants. Both accusations are unfounded.* The truce was publicly disclaimed by the king, and the city was treated with uncommon lenity. It was at this time the chief commercial emporium of England, and its plunder greatly enriched the Scottish army. There were also found in it great quantities of provisions and military stores, and Bruce, after having examined the fortifications, determined to make it an exception from his general rule of demolishing all fortresses recovered from the English.† In execution of this plan, he committed the keeping of both town and castle to his son-in-law, Walter the Steward; and aware that, from its importance, the English would soon attempt to recover it, he provided it with every sort of warlike engine then used in the defence of fortified places. Springalds and cranes, with huge machines for discharging iron darts, called *balistæ de turno*, were stationed on the walls; a large body of archers, spearmen, and cross-bowmen, formed the garrison; and the young Steward was assisted in his measures of defence by John Crab, a Fleming, famous for his skill in the rude engineering of the times.‡ Five hundred brave gentlemen, who quartered

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 708, 709. † Fordun a Goodal, p. 245.

‡ Barbour, pp. 339, 340. Crab seems to have been a mercenary who engaged in the service of any who would employ him. In 1313, Edward the Second complained of depredations committed by him on some English merchants, to his sovereign, Robert earl of Flanders. *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 403. In August, 1333, after Berwick fell into the hands of the English, Crab obtained a pardon, and entered into the service of England.

the arms of the Steward, repaired to Berwick, to the support of their chief; and Bruce, having left it victualled for a year, marched with his army into England, and ravaged and laid waste the country. He besieged and made himself master of the castles of Wark and Harbottle, surprised Mitford, and having penetrated into Yorkshire, burnt the towns of Northallerton, Boroughbridge, Scarborough, and Skipton in Craven. The plunder in these expeditions was great, and the number of the captives may be estimated from the expression of an ancient English chronicle, that the Scots returned into their own country, driving their prisoners like flocks of sheep before them.*

Irritated at the contempt of their authority, the cardinal legates solemnly excommunicated Bruce† and his adherents; whilst Edward, after an ineffectual attempt to conciliate his parliament and keep together his army, was compelled, by their violent animosities, to disband his troops, and allow the year to pass away in discontent and inactivity. Meanwhile, the death of King Edward Bruce in Ireland, and of Marjory, the king's daughter, who left an only son, Robert, afterwards king, rendered some new enactments necessary regarding the succession to the throne. A parliament was accordingly assembled at Scone in December, in which the whole clergy and laity renewed their engagements of obedience to the king, and promised to assist him faithfully, to the utmost of their power, in the preservation and defence of the rights and liberties of the kingdom, against all persons of whatever strength, power, and dignity, they may be; and any one who should attempt to violate this engage-

* Chron. Lanercost, pp. 235, 236.

† Rymer, Fœdera, vol. iii. pp. 707, 711.

ment and ordinance, was declared guilty of treason. It was next enacted, that, in the event of the king's death, without issue male, Robert Stewart, son of the Princess Marjory and of Walter, the Lord High Steward of Scotland, should succeed to the crown; and in the event of that succession taking place during the minority of Robert Stewart, or of other heir of the king's body, it was appointed, that the office of tutor to the heir of the kingdom should belong to Thomas Randolph earl of Moray, and failing him, to James lord Douglas; but it was expressly provided, that such appointment should cease, whenever it appeared to the majority of the community of the kingdom that the heir is of fit age to administer the government in person. It was also declared, that since, in certain times past, some doubts had arisen regarding the succession of the kingdom of Scotland, the parliament thought proper to express their opinion, that this succession ought not to have been regulated, and henceforth should not be determined, by the rules of inferior fiefs and inheritances, but that the male heir nearest to the king, in the direct line of descent, should succeed to the crown; and failing him, the nearest female in the direct line; and failing the whole direct line, the nearest male heir in the collateral line—respect being always had to the right of blood by which the last king reigned, which seemed agreeable to the imperial law.*

This enactment having been unanimously agreed to, Randolph and Douglas came forward, and, after accepting the offices provisionally conferred upon them, swore, with their hands on the holy gospels and the relics of the saints, faithfully and diligently to discharge their duty, and to observe, and cause to be observed, the

* Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 290.

laws and customs of Scotland. After this, the bishops, abbots, priors, and inferior clergy, the earls, barons, knights, freeholders, and the remanent members of the community of Scotland, in the same solemn manner took the same oath, and those of the highest rank affixed their seals to the instrument of succession.*

Having settled this important matter, various other laws were passed, relative to the military power, and to the ecclesiastical and civil government of the kingdom. All men were required to array themselves for war. Every layman possessed of land, who had ten pounds worth of moveable property, was commanded to provide himself with an acton and a *basnet*, that is a leathern jacket, and a steel helmet, together with gloves of plate, and a sword and spear. Those who were not thus provided, were enjoined to have an iron jack, or back and breast-plate of iron, an iron head-piece, or *knapiskay*, with gloves of plate; and every man possessing the value of a cow, was commanded to arm himself with a bow and a sheaf of twenty-four arrows, or with a spear.† It was made imperative upon all sheriffs and lords to insist on the execution of this law; and in case of disobedience, to cause the recusant to forfeit his moveable estate, half to the king, and half to his overlord, or superior. All persons, while on the road to the royal army, were commanded to subsist at their own charges; those who came from places near the rendezvous being commanded to bring carriages and provisions along with them, and those from remote parts to bring money; and if, upon an offer of payment, such necessities were refused, the

* Fordun a Goodal, vol. i. p. 291.

† Regiam Majestatem. Statutes of King Robert I. See Cartulary of Aberbrothock, p. 283. M'Farlane Transcript.

troops were authorised, at the sight of the magistrates or bailies of the district, to take what was withheld. All persons were strictly prohibited from supplying the enemy with armour or horses, bows and arrows, or any kind of weapons, or to give to the English assistance in any shape whatever, and this under the penalty of being guilty of a capital offence. All ecclesiastics were prohibited from transmitting to the papal court any sums of money for the purchase of bulls; and all Scotsmen, who, although possessed of estates in their own country, chose to reside in England, were prohibited from drawing any money out of Scotland,—a clause apparently directed against David de Strabogie earl of Athole, who at this time stood high in the confidence of Edward the Second.*

This weak monarch, when he found that Bruce could not be brought to terms by negotiation, or intimidated by the papal thunders, determined once more to have recourse to arms; and having assembled an army, he crossed the Tweed, and sat down before Berwick.† His first precaution was to secure his camp by lines of circumvallation, composed of high ramparts and deep trenches, so as to enable him to resist effectually any attempt of the Scots to raise the siege. He then strictly invested the town from the Tweed to the sea, and at the same time the English fleet entered the estuary of the river, so that the city was beleagured on all points. This was in the beginning of September; and from the strength of the army and the quality of the leaders much was expected.‡

The first assault was made on the seventh of the month; it had been preceded by great preparations,

* *Regiam Majestatem.* Stat. Robert I.

‡ Barbour, p. 343.

† Barbour, p. 342.

and mounds of earth had been erected against that part of the walls, where it was expected there would be the greatest facility in storming. Early in the morning of St Mary's Eve, the trumpets of the English were heard, and the besiegers advanced in various bodies, well provided with scaling ladders, scaffolds, and defences, with hoes and pickaxes for mining, and under cover of squadrons of archers and slingers. The assault soon became general, and continued with various success till noon; at which time the English ships entered the river, and, sailing up as far as the tide permitted, made a bold attempt to carry the town, from the rigging of a vessel which they had prepared for the purpose. The topmasts of this vessel, and her boat, which was drawn up half-mast high, were manned with soldiers; and to the bow of the boat was fitted a species of drawbridge, which was intended to be dropt upon the wall, and to afford a passage from the ship into the town. The walls themselves, which were not more than a spear's length in height, afforded little defence against these serious preparations; but the Scots, animated by that feeling of confidence, which a long train of success had inspired, and encouraged by the presence and example of the Steward, effectually repulsed the enemy on the land side, whilst the ship, which had struck upon a bank, was left dry by the ebbing of the tide; and being attacked by a party of the enemy, was soon seen blazing in the mouth of the river. Disheartened by this double failure, the besiegers drew off their forces, and for the present, intermitted all attack.* But it was only to commence new preparations for a more desperate assault. In case of a second failure in their escalade, it was determined to

* Barbour, pp. 345, 346.

undermine the walls; and for this purpose, a huge machine was constructed, covered by a strong roofing of boards and hides, and holding within its bosom large bodies of armed soldiers and miners. From its shape and covering, this formidable engine was called a *sow*. To co-operate with the machine, moveable scaffolds, high enough to overtop the walls, and capable of receiving parties of armed men, were erected for the attack; and undismayed at his first failure by sea, Edward commanded a number of ships to be fitted out similar to that vessel which had been burnt; but with this difference, that in addition to the armed boats, slung half-mast high, their top-castles were full of archers, under whose incessant and deadly discharge it was expected that the assailants would drag the ships so near the walls, as to be able to fix their moveable bridges on the capstone.* Meanwhile the Scots were not idle. Under the direction of Crab, the Flemish engineer, they constructed two machines of great strength, similar to the Roman catapult, which moved on frames, fitted with wheels, and by which stones of a large size were propelled with steady aim and destructive force. Springalds were stationed on the walls, which were smaller engines like the ancient *balistæ*, and calculated for the projection of heavy darts, winged with copper; iron chains, with grappling hooks attached to them, and piles of fire-fagots, mixed with bundles of pitch and flax, bound into large masses, shaped like casks, were in readiness; and to second the ingenuity of Crab, an English engineer, who had been taken prisoner in the first assault, was compelled to assist in the defence. The young Steward assigned, as before, to each of his officers a certain post on

* Barbour, pp. 351, 352.

the walls, and put himself at the head of the reserve, with which he determined to watch, and, if necessary, to reinforce the various points. Having completed these arrangements, he calmly awaited the attack of the English, which was made with great fury early in the morning of the 13th of September. To the sound of trumpet and war-horns, their various divisions moved resolutely forward; and, in spite of all discharges from the walls, succeeded in filling up the ditch, and fixing their ladders; but after a conflict, which lasted from sunrise till noon, they found it impossible to overcome the gallantry of the Scots, and were beaten back on every quarter. At this moment the King of England ordered the sow to be advanced; and the English, aware that if they allowed the Scottish engineers time to take a correct aim, a single stone from the catapult would be fatal, dragged it on with great eagerness. Twice was the aim taken, and twice it failed. The first stone flew over the machine, the second fell short of it; the third, an immense mass, which passed through the air with a loud booming noise, hit it directly in the middle with a dreadful crash, and shivered its strong roof-timbers into a thousand pieces. Such of the miners and soldiers who escaped death, rushed out from amongst the fragments; and the Scots, raising a shout, cried out that the English sow had farrowed her pigs.* Crab, the engineer, immediately cast his chains and grappling hooks over the unwieldy machine, and having effectually prevented its removal, poured down burning fagots upon its broken timbers, and consumed it to ashes. Nor were the English more fortunate in their attack upon the side of the river. Their ships, indeed,

* Barbour, p. 354.

moved up towards the walls at flood-tide; but whether from the shallowness of the water, or the faint-heartedness of their leaders, the attack entirely failed. One of the vessels which led the way, on coming within range of the catapult, was struck by a large stone, which damaged her, and killed and mangled some of the crew; upon which the remaining ships, intimidated by the accident, drew off from the assault. A last effort of the besiegers, in which they endeavoured to set fire to St Mary's gate, was repulsed by the Steward in person; and at nightfall, the English army, foiled on every side, and greatly disheartened, entirely withdrew from the assault.*

The spirit with which the defence was carried on, may be estimated from the circumstance, that the women and boys in the town, during the hottest season of the assault, supplied the soldiers on the walls with bundles of arrows, and stones for the engines.

Although twice beaten off, it was yet likely that the importance of gaining Berwick would have induced the King of England to attempt a third attack; but Bruce determined to raise the siege by making a diversion on a large scale, and directed Randolph and Douglas, at the head of an army of fifteen thousand men, to invade England. During the presence of her husband at the siege of Berwick, the Queen of England had taken up her quarters near York, and it was the plan of these two veteran warriors, by a rapid and sudden march through the heart of Yorkshire, to seize the person of the queen, and, with this precious captive in their hands, to dictate the terms of peace to her

* Barbour, p. 357.

husband.* Bruce, who, in addition to his talents in the field, had not neglected to avail himself in every way of Edward's unpopularity, appears to have established a secret correspondence, not only with the Earl of Lancaster, who was then along with his master before Berwick, but with others about the queen's person.† The plan had in consequence very nearly been successful; but a Scottish prisoner, who fell into the hands of the English, gave warning of the meditated attack, and Randolph, on penetrating to York, found the prey escaped, and the court removed to a distance. Incensed at this disappointment, they ravaged the surrounding country with merciless execution, marking their progress by the flames and smoke of towns and castles, and collecting much plunder.

The military strength of the country was at this time before Berwick, and nothing remained but the forces of the church, and of the vassals who held lands by military service to the archiepiscopal see. These were hastily assembled by William de Melton, the Archbishop of York, assisted by the Bishop of Ely,‡ and a force of twenty thousand men, but of a motley description, proceeded to intercept the Scots. Multitudes of priests and monks, whose shaved crowns suited ill with the steel basnet—large bodies of the feudal militia of the church, but hastily levied, and imperfectly disciplined—the mayor of York, with his train-bands and armed burgesses, composed the army which the archbishop, emulous, perhaps, of the fame which had been acquired in the battle of the Standard, by his predecessor Thurstin, too rashly determined to

* "*Certe si capta fuisset tunc Regina, credo quod pacem emisset sibi Scotia.*"—M. Malmesbur. p. 192.

† Walsingham, pp. 111, 112.

‡ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 202. 4th Sept. 13 Edw. II.

lead against the experienced soldiers of Randolph and Douglas. The result was what might have been expected. The Scots were encamped at Mitton, near the small river Swale. Across the stream there was then a bridge, over which the English army defiled. Whilst thus occupied, some large stacks of hay were set on fire by the enemy,* and, under cover of a dense mass of smoke, a strong column of men threw themselves between the English army and the bridge. As the smoke cleared away, they found themselves attacked with great fury both in front and rear, by the fatal long spear of the Scottish infantry; and the army of the archbishop was in a few moments entirely broken and dispersed.† In an incredibly short time, four thousand were slain, and amongst these many priests, whose white surplices covered their armour. Great multitudes were drowned in attempting to recross the river, and it seems to have been fortunate for the English that the battle was fought in the evening, and that a September night soon closed upon the field; for had it been a morning attack, it is probable that Randolph and Douglas would have put the whole army to the sword. Three hundred ecclesiastics fell in this battle; from which circumstance, and in allusion to the prelates who led the troops, it was denominated, in the rude pleasantry of the times, “The Chapter of Mitton.” When the news of the disaster reached the camp before Berwick, the troops began to murmur, and the Earl of Lancaster soon after, in a fit of disgust, deserted the leaguer with his whole followers, composing nearly a third part of the army.‡

* Hardyng's Chronicle, p. 309.

† J. de Trokelowe, p. 45. Hume's Douglas and Angus, vol. i. pp. 69, 70. Barbour, p. 350.

‡ Barbour, p. 359.

Edward immediately raised the siege, and made a spirited effort to intercept Douglas and Randolph on their return, and compel them to fight at a disadvantage ; but he had to deal with veteran soldiers, whose secret information was accurate, and who were intimately acquainted with the Border passes. While he attempted to intercept them by one road, they had already taken another, and leaving their route to be traced, as their advance had been, by the flames and smoke of villages and hamlets, they returned, without experiencing a check, into Scotland, loaded with booty, and confirmed in their feeling of military superiority. It may give some idea of the far-spreading devastation occasioned by this and similar inroads of the Scottish army, when it is stated, that in an authentic document in the *Fœdera Angliæ*, it appears that eighty-four towns and villages were burnt and pillaged by the army of Randolph and Douglas in this expedition. These, on account of the great losses sustained, are, by a royal letter addressed to the tax-gatherers of the West Riding of Yorkshire, exempted from all contribution ;* and in this list the private castles and hamlets which were destroyed in the same fiery inroad, do not appear to be included.

Bruce could not fail to be particularly gratified by these successes. Berwick, not only the richest commercial town in England, but of extreme importance as a key to that country, remained in his hands, after a siege directed by the King of England in person ; and the young warrior, who had so bravely repulsed the enemy, was the Steward of Scotland, the husband of his only daughter, on whom the hopes and wishes of the nation mainly rested. The defeat upon the

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 801, 802.

Swale was equally destructive and decisive, and it was followed up by another expedition of the restless and indefatigable Douglas, who, about All-Hallow tide of the same year, when the northern Borders had gathered in their harvest, broke into and burnt Gillsland and the surrounding country, ravaged Borough-on-Stanmore, and came sweeping home through Westmoreland and Cumberland, driving his cattle and his prisoners before him, and cruelly adding to the miseries of the recent famine, by a total destruction of the agricultural produce, which had been laid up for the winter.*

It was a part of the character of Bruce, which marked his great abilities, that he knew as well when to make peace as to pursue war ; and that, after any success, he could select the moment best fitted for permanently securing to his kingdom the advantages, which, had he reduced his enemy to extremity, might have eluded his grasp. The natural consequence of a long series of defeats sustained by Edward, was an anxious desire upon his own part, and that of his parliament, for a truce between the kingdoms ; † and as the Scots were satiated with victory, and, to use the words of an English historian, so enriched by the plunder of England that that country could scarcely

* Hume's Douglas and Angus, vol. i. p. 70.

† Walsingham, p. 112. "Igitur Rex, sentiens quotidie sua damna cumulari, de communi consilio in treugas jurat biennales, Scotis libenter has acceptantibus, non tamen quia jam fuerant bellis fatigati, sed quia fuerant Anglica præda ditati." Lingard says nothing of the request of the parliament, that Edward would enter into a truce with the Scots, but observes, that the first proposal for a negotiation came from Scotland, and that the demand for the regal title was waved by Bruce. The truce itself is not published in Rymer, so that there is no certain proof that Bruce waved the regal title ; and although, in the document in Rymer, vol. iii. p. 806, Edward, in a letter to the pope, states, that Bruce made proposals for a truce, the evidence is not conclusive, as Edward, in his public papers, did not scruple to conceal his disasters, by assuming a tone of superiority, when his affairs were at the lowest ebb.

afford them more, the Scottish king lent a ready ear to the representations of the English commissioners, and agreed to a truce for two years between the kingdoms, to commence from Christmas 1319. Conservators of the truce were appointed by England,* and, in the meantime, commissioners of both nations were directed to continue their conferences, with the hope of concluding a final peace.

One great object of Bruce in consenting to a cessation of hostilities, was his earnest desire to be reconciled to the Roman See—a desire which apparently was far from its accomplishment; for the pope, instead of acting as a peace-maker, seized this moment to reiterate his spiritual censures against the King of Scotland and his adherents, in a bull of great length, and unexampled rancour;† and some time after the final settlement of the truce, the Archbishop of York, with the Bishops of London and Carlisle, were commanded—and the order is stated to have proceeded on information communicated by Edward—to excommunicate Robert and his accomplices, on every Sabbath and festival-day throughout the year.‡

Convinced by this conduct, that their enemies had been busy in misrepresenting at the Roman court their causes of quarrel with England, the Scottish nobility assembled in parliament at Aberbrothock,§ and with consent of the king, the barons, freeholders, and whole community of Scotland, directed a letter or manifesto to the pope, in a strain different from that servility of address to which the spiritual sovereign had been accustomed.

* This is said to be the first instance of the appointment of Conservators of truce for the Borders. Ridpath, Border Hist. p. 265.

† Rymer, Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 797.

‡ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 810.

§ April 6, 1320. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 277.

After an exordium, in which they shortly allude to the then commonly believed traditions regarding the emigration of the Scots from Scythia, their residence in Spain, and subsequent conquest of the Pictish kingdom; to their long line of a hundred and thirteen kings, (many of whom are undoubtedly fabulous;) to their conversion to Christianity by St Andrew, and the privileges which they had enjoyed at the hands of their spiritual father, as the flock of the brother of St Peter, they describe, in the following energetic terms, the unjust aggression of Edward the First:—

“Under such free protection did we live, until Edward king of England, and father of the present monarch, covering his hostile designs under the specious disguise of friendship and alliance, made an invasion of our country at the moment when it was without a king, and attacked an honest and unsuspecting people, then but little experienced in war. The insults which this prince has heaped upon us, the slaughters and devastations which he has committed; his imprisonments of prelates, his burning of monasteries, his spoliations and murder of priests, and the other enormities of which he has been guilty, can be rightly described, or even conceived, by none but an eye-witness. From these innumerable evils have we been freed, under the help of that God who woundeth and who maketh whole, by our most valiant prince and king, Lord Robert, who, like a second Maccabæus, or Joshua, hath cheerfully endured all labour and weariness, and exposed himself to every species of danger and privation, that he might rescue from the hands of the enemy his ancient people and rightful inheritance, whom also Divine Providence, and the right of succession according to those laws and customs, which we will maintain

to the death, as well as the common consent of us all, have made our prince and king. To him are we bound, both by his own merit and by the law of the land, and to him, as the saviour of our people, and the guardian of our liberty, are we unanimously determined to adhere ; but if he should desist from what he has begun, and should show an inclination to subject us or our kingdom to the King of England, or to his people, then we declare, that we will use our utmost effort to expel him from the throne, as our enemy, and the subverter of his own and of our right, and we will choose another king to rule over us, who will be able to defend us ; for as long as a hundred Scotsmen are left alive, we will never be subject to the dominion of England. It is not for glory, riches, or honour, that we fight, but for that liberty which no good man will consent to lose but with his life.

“Wherefore, most reverend father, we humbly pray, and from our hearts beseech your Holiness to consider, that you are the vicegerent of Him with whom there is no respect of persons, Jews or Greeks, Scots or English ; and turning your paternal regard upon the tribulations brought upon us and the Church of God by the English, to admonish the King of England that he should be content with what he possesses, seeing that England of old was enough for seven, or more kings, and not to disturb our peace in this small country, lying on the utmost boundaries of the habitable earth, and whose inhabitants desire nothing but what is their own.”

The barons proceed to say, that they are willing to do everything for peace which may not compromise the freedom of their constitution and government ; and they exhort the pope to procure the peace of

Christendom, in order to the removal of all impediments in the way of a crusade against the infidels; declaring the readiness with which both they and their king would undertake that sacred warfare, if the King of England would cease to disturb them. Their conclusion is exceedingly spirited:

“If,” say they, “your Holiness do not sincerely believe these things, giving too implicit faith to the tales of the English, and on this ground shall not cease to favour them in their designs for our destruction, be well assured that the Almighty will impute to you that loss of life, that destruction of human souls, and all those various calamities which our extinguishable hatred against the English, and their warfare against us, must necessarily produce. Confident that we now are, and shall ever, as in duty bound, remain obedient sons to you, as God’s vicegerent, we commit the defence of our cause to that God, as the great King and Judge, placing our confidence in him, and in the firm hope that he will endow us with strength, and confound our enemies; and may the Almighty long preserve your Holiness in health.”

This memorable letter is dated at Aberbrothock, on the 6th of April 1320, and it is signed by eight earls and thirty-one barons, amongst whom we find the great officers, the high-steward, the seneschal, the constable, and the marshal, with the barons, freeholders, and whole community of Scotland.*

The effect of such a remonstrance, and the negotiations of Sir Edward Mabuisson and Sir Adam de Gordon, two special messengers, who were sent by Bruce to the papal court, induced his Holiness to delay

* A fac-simile of this famous letter was engraved by Anderson, in his *Diplomata Scotiæ*, plate 51. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 275.

for some time the reiterated publication of the papal processes, and earnestly to recommend a peace between the two countries. For this purpose, a meeting took place between certain Scottish and English commissioners, which was attended by two envoys from the King of France, who entreated to be allowed to act as a mediator, and by two nuncios from the pope. But Edward was not yet sufficiently humbled to consent to the conditions stipulated by his antagonist; and Bruce was the less anxious to come to an agreement, as a dangerous civil insurrection, headed by the Earl of Lancaster, his secret friend and ally, had just broke out in England, and promised to give Edward full employment at home.*

In the midst of these unsuccessful negotiations for peace, a conspiracy of an alarming and mysterious nature against the life of the King of Scots was discovered, by the confession of the Countess of Strathern, who was privy to the plot. William de Soulis, the seneschal, or high-butler of Scotland; Sir David de Brechin, nephew to the king, an accomplished knight, who had signalized himself in the Holy War; five other knights, Sir Gilbert de Malherbe, Sir John Logie, Sir Eustace de Maxwell, Sir Walter de Berklay, and Sir Patrick de Graham; with three esquires, Richard Brown, Hameline de Troupe, and Eustace de Rattray, are the only persons whose names have come down to us as certainly implicated in the conspiracy. Of these, Sir David de Brechin, along with Malherbe, Logie, and Brown, suffered the punishment of treason.† The destruction of all record of their trial renders it difficult

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 866, 884. Ridpath's *Border History*, p. 267. Rymer, vol. iii. p. 924.

† Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1010.

to throw any light on the details of the plot ; but we have the evidence of a contemporary of high authority, that the design of the conspirators was to slay the king, and place the crown on the head of Lord Soulis, a lineal descendant of the daughter of Alexander II. ; and who, as possessing such a claim, would have excluded both Bruce and Baliol, had the legitimacy of his mother been unquestioned.* There is evidence in the records of the Tower, that both Soulis and Brechin had long tampered with England, and been rewarded for their services. In the case of Brechin, we find him enjoying special letters of protection from Edward. In addition to these he was pensioned in 1312, was appointed English warden of the town and castle of Dundee, and employed in secret communications, having for their object the destruction of his uncle's power in Scotland, and the triumph of the English arms over his native country. It is certain that he was a prisoner of war in Scotland in the year 1315,† having probably been taken in arms at the battle of Bannockburn. In the five years of glory and success which followed, and in the repeated expeditions of Randolph and Douglas, we do not once meet with his name ; and now, after having been received into favour, he became connected with, or at least connived at, a conspiracy, which involved the death of the king. Such a delinquent is little entitled to our sympathy. There was not a single favourable circumstance in his case ; but he was young and brave, he had fought against the infidels, and the people who knew not of his secret treasons, could not see him suffer without

* Barbour, p. 330, l. 385.

† Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 311. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 5 Edw. II., m. 3. *Ibid.* 3 Edw. II., m. 7. dorso.

pity and regret.* Soulis, who, with a retinue of three hundred and sixty esquires, had been seized at Berwick, was imprisoned in Dumbarton, where he soon after died; and Maxwell, Berklay, Graham, Troupe, and Rattray, were tried and acquitted. The parliament in which these trials and condemnations took place, was held at Scone in the beginning of August, 1320, and long remembered in Scotland under the name of the Black Parliament.†

A brief gleam of success now cheered the prospects of Edward, and encouraged him to continue the war with Scotland. The Earl of Lancaster, who, along with the Earl of Hereford and other English barons, had entered into a treaty of alliance with Bruce, and concerted an invasion of England, to be conducted by the King of Scotland in person,‡ was defeated and taken prisoner by Sir Andrew Hartcla and Sir Simon Ward, near Pontefract; his army was totally routed, and he himself soon after executed for treason.

In the battle the Earl of Hereford was slain, others of the discontented nobility shared the fate of Lancaster, and the dangerous faction which had for so many years been a thorn in the side of the king, was entirely broken and put down. Exulting at this success, Edward determined to collect an army which should at once enable him to put an end to the war, and in a tone of premature triumph, wrote to the pope,

* Barbour, pp. 381, 382.

† Hailes, trusting perhaps to Bower in his additions to Fordun, p. 174, who was ignorant of Brechin's connexion with Edward, laments over Brechin, and creates an impression in the reader's mind, that Bruce was unnecessarily rigorous, and might have pardoned him; yet, it seems to me, his case, instead of being favourable, was peculiarly aggravated. Bruce's generous nature had passed over manifold attempts by Brechin against the liberty of his country: in the conspiracy of Soulis, any extension of mercy would have been weak, if not criminal.

‡ *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 938, 939.

“requesting him to give himself no farther trouble about a truce with the Scots, as he had determined to establish a peace by force of arms.”* In furtherance of this resolution, he proceeded to issue his writs for the attendance of his military vassals ; but so ill were these obeyed, that four months were lost before the force assembled ; and in this interval the Scots, with their usual strength and fury, broke into England, led by the king in person, wasted with fire and sword the six northern counties, which had scarcely drawn breath from a visitation of the same kind by Randolph, and returned to Scotland, loaded with booty, consisting of herds of sheep and oxen, quantities of gold and silver, ecclesiastical plate and ornaments, jewels, and table equipage, which they piled in waggons, and drove off at their pleasure.† Meanwhile Edward continued his preparations, which, although dilatory, were on a great scale.‡ A supply of lancemen and cross-bowmen was demanded from his foreign subjects of Aquitaine, along with a due proportion of wheat, and a thousand tuns of wine for the use of his army ; every village and hamlet in England was commanded to furnish one foot-soldier fully armed, and the larger towns and cities were taxed proportionally to their size and importance. A parliament held at York, in the end of July, granted large subsidies from the nobles and the clergy, the cities, towns, and burghs ; a fleet of transports, with provisions, was sent round to enter the Forth ; and an offensive squadron, under the command of Sir John Leybourn, was fitted out for the attack of the west coast and the islands. All things being ready, Edward

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 944.

† Knighton, p. 2542. Hume's *History of House of Douglas and Angus*, vol. i. p. 72.

‡ Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 930, 952, 955, 962.

invaded Scotland at the head of an army of a hundred thousand men ;* but the result of the expedition was lamentably disproportionate to the magnitude of his promises and his preparations ; and manifested, in a striking manner, the superior talents and policy of Bruce.

No longer bound, as at Bannockburn, by the rash engagement of his brother to risk his kingdom upon the fate of a battle, which he must have fought with a greatly disproportionate force, the king determined to make the numbers of the English army the cause of their ruin : to starve them in an enemy's country, and then to fall upon them when, enfeebled by want, they could offer little resistance. Accordingly, on advancing to Edinburgh, the English found themselves marching through a desert, where neither enemy could be seen, nor provisions of any kind collected. The cattle and the sheep, the stores of corn and victuals, and the valuable effects of every kind, throughout the districts of the Merse, Teviotdale, and the Lothians, had entirely disappeared ; the warlike population, which were expected to debate the advance of the army, had retired under the command of the King of Scotland to Culross, on the north side of the Firth of Forth ; and Edward having in vain waited for supplies by his fleet, which contrary winds prevented entering the Firth, was compelled by famine to give orders for a retreat.† The moment the English began their march homewards, the Scots commenced the fatal partisan warfare in which Douglas and Randolph were such adepts ; hung upon their rear, cut off the stragglers, and were ready to improve every advantage. An advanced party of three hundred strong, were put

* In the month of August, 1322.

† Barbour, p. 370.

to the sword by Douglas at Melrose ; but the main army, coming up, plundered and destroyed this ancient monastery, spoiled the high altar of its holiest vessels, sacrilegiously casting out the consecrated host, and cruelly murdering the prior, and some feeble monks, who, from affection or bodily infirmity, had refused to fly.* Turning off by Dryburgh, the disappointed invaders left this monastery in flames, and hastening through Teviotdale, were overjoyed once more to find themselves surrounded by the plenty and comfort of their own country. Yet here a new calamity awaited them ; for the scarcity and famine of an unsuccessful invasion induced the soldiers to give themselves up to unlimited indulgence ; and they were soon attacked by a mortal dysentery, which rapidly carried off immense numbers, and put a finishing stroke to this unhappy expedition, by the loss of sixteen thousand men.†

But Edward was destined to experience still more unhappy reverses. Having collected the scattered remains of his army, and strengthened it by fresh levies, he encamped at Biland Abbey, near Malton, in Yorkshire ; and when there, was met by the intelligence that King Robert, having sat down before Norham castle with a powerful force, after some time fruitlessly spent in the siege, had been compelled to retire. Scarce, however, had this good news arrived, when the advanced parties of the Scottish army were descried ; and the English had only time to secure a strong position on the ridge of a hill, before the king was seen marching through the plain with his whole forces, and it became manifest that he meant to attack the Eng-

* Fordun a Hearne, p. 1011.

† Knighton, p. 2542. Barbour, pp. 373, 374. Fordun a Hearne, p. 1012.

lish. This, however, from the nature of the ground, was no easy matter. Their soldiers were drawn up along the ridge of a rugged and steep declivity, assailable only by a single narrow pass, which led to Biland Abbey. This pass, Sir James Douglas, with a chosen body of men, undertook to force; and as he advanced his banner, and the pennons of his knights and squires were marshalling and waving round him, Randolph, his friend and brother in arms, with four squires, came up, and joined the enterprise as a volunteer. The Scottish soldiers attacked the enemy with the utmost resolution, but they were received with equal bravery by Sir Thomas Ughtred* and Sir Ralph Cobham, who fought in advance of the column which defended the pass, and encouraged their men to a desperate resistance. Meanwhile, stones and other missiles were poured down upon the Scots from the high ground; and this double attack, with the narrowness of the pass, caused the battle to be exceeding obstinate and bloody. Bruce, whose eye intently watched every circumstance, determined now to repeat the manœuvre, by which, many years before, he entirely defeated the army of the Lord of Lorn, when it occupied ground similar to the present position of the English. He commanded the men of Argyle and the Isles to climb the rocky ridge, at some distance from the pass, and to attack and turn the flank of the force which held the summit. These orders the mountaineers, trained in their own country to this species of warfare, found

* Ker, in his *History of Bruce*, vol. ii. p. 284, following Pinkerton, makes the name Enchter. The reading in Barbour, as restored by Dr Jamieson, is Thomas Ochtre. It is evidently the same name, and in all probability the same person, as Thomas de Uchtred, mentioned in vol. iii. p. 963, of the *Fœdera*, as the keeper of the castle and honour of Pickering, and described as being of the county of York.

no difficulty in obeying;* and the enemy were driven from the heights with great slaughter, whilst Douglas and Randolph carried the pass, and made way for the main body of the Scottish army.

So rapid had been the succession of these events, that the English king, confident in the strength of his position, could scarcely trust his eyes, when he saw his army entirely routed, and flying in all directions; himself compelled to abandon his camp equipage, baggage, and treasure, and to consult his safety by a precipitate flight, pursued by the young Steward of Scotland, at the head of five hundred horse. It was with difficulty he escaped to Bridlington, having lost the privy seal in the confusion of the day.† This was the second time during this weak and inglorious reign, that the privy seal of England had been lost amid the precipitancy of the king's flight from the face of his enemies. First, in the disastrous flight from Bannockburn, and now in the equally rapid decampment from the Abbey of Biland.‡ In this battle John of Bretagne earl of Richmond, Henry de Sully grand butler of France, and many other prisoners of note, fell into the hands of the enemy. Richmond was treated by the king with unusual severity, commanded into strict confinement, and only liberated after a long captivity, and at the expense of an enormous ransom. The cause of this is said to have been the terms of slight and opprobrium with which he had been heard to express himself against Bruce.§ To Sully and other French knights, who had been taken at the same time, the king demeaned himself with that chivalrous and polished courtesy for which he was so distinguished;

* Barbour, p. 376.

† Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 977.

‡ Leland, *Collect.* vol. i. p. 250.

§ Barbour, p. 378.

assuring them that he was well aware they had been present in the battle, not from personal enmity to him, but from the honourable ambition that good knights, in a strange land, must ever have, to show their prowess; wherefore he entreated them, as well for their own sake, as out of compliment to his friend, the King of France, to remain at head-quarters. They did so accordingly; and after some time, on setting out for France, were dismissed, not only free of ransom, but enriched with presents.* After this decisive defeat, the Scots plundered the whole country to the north of the Humber, and extended their ravages to Beverley, laying waste the East Riding with fire and sword, and levying from the towns and monasteries, which were rich enough to pay for their escape from plunder, large sums of redemption money.† The clergy and inhabitants of Beverley purchased their safety at the rate of four hundred pounds, being six thousand pounds of our present money. Loaded with booty, driving large herds of cattle before them, and rich in multitudes of captives, both of low and high degree, the Scottish army at length returned to their own country.‡

The councils of the King of England continued after this to be weakened by dissension and treachery amongst his nobility. Hartela, who, for his good service in the destruction of the Lancastrian faction, had been created Earl of Carlisle, soon after, imitating the

* Barbour, p. 379.

† Ker's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 287.

‡ Dr Lingard (vol. iii. p. 442,) following the authority of John de Trokelowe, p. 64, has represented the battle of Biland Abbey as a skirmish, in which, after Edward had disbanded his army, Bruce surprised the English king, and the knights and suite who were with him. It appears to me, that the accounts of Barbour, Fordun, and of Lord Hailes, lead to a very different conclusion. In Dr Lingard's narrative, the determined resistance made by the English army, the storming of their encampment, the strong ground in which it was placed, and, indeed, the circumstance that there was an army at all with the king, is omitted.

example of Lancaster, entered into a correspondence with Bruce,* and organized an extensive confederacy amongst the northern barons, which had for its object, not only to conclude a truce with the Scots, independent of any communication with the king, but to maintain Robert Bruce and his heirs in the right and possession of the entire kingdom of Scotland. On the discovery of the plot, he suffered the death of a traitor, after being degraded from his new honours, and having his gilt spurs hacked off his heels.† Henry de Beaumont, one of the king's counsellors, was soon after this disgraced, and committed to the custody of the marshal, on refusing to give his advice in terms of insolence and audacity;‡ so that Edward, unsupported by an army, disgraced by personal flight, and betrayed by some of his most confidential nobility, whilst his kingdom had been incalculably weakened by a long and disastrous war, began to wish seriously for a cessation of hostilities. Nor was Bruce unwilling to entertain pacific overtures. He repelled, indeed, with becoming dignity, a weak attempt to refuse to acknowledge him as the principal leader and party in the truce,§ and insisted on his recognition as chief of his Scottish subjects; but he consented, by the mediation of his friend, Henry de Sully, to a thirteen-years' truce. This truce, however, he ratified under the style and title of King of Scotland, and this ratification Edward agreed to accept;|| thus virtually acknowledging the royal title which he affected to deny. But although desirous of peace, the conduct of the English monarch at

* Leland, Collect. vol. i. p. 466.

† Ker's Hist. of Bruce, p. 289, vol. ii. Rymer, Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 999.

‡ Rymer, Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 1021.

§ Hailes' Annals, vol. ii. p. 108. Rymer, Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 1003.

|| Rymer, Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 1031.

this time was marked by dissimulation and bad faith. While apparently anxious for a truce, he employed his ambassadors at the papal court to irritate the Holy Father against Bruce, and to fan the dissensions between them; he summoned an array of the whole military service of England during the negotiations; and he recalled Edward Baliol, the son of the late King of Scots, from his castle in Normandy, to reside at the English court,* with the design, as afterwards appeared, of employing him to excite disturbances in Scotland. To counteract these intrigues of England, Bruce despatched his nephew, Randolph, to the papal court; and the result of his negotiations was in a high degree favourable to Scotland. Flattered by the judicious declarations of his master's devotion to the Holy See; soothed by the expression of his anxiety for a peace with England, and an entire reconciliation with the church; and delighted with the ardour with which Bruce declared himself ready to repair in person to the Holy War, the pontiff consented, under the influence of these feelings, to remove all cause of quarrel, by addressing a bull to Bruce, with the title of king.† It has been justly observed, that the conduct of this delicate negotiation presents Randolph to us in the new character of a consummate politician.‡ Against this unexpected conduct of the Holy See, Edward entered a spirited remonstrance, complaining, with great show of reason, that although the pope maintained that Bruce's claim could not be strengthened, nor that of the King of England impaired, by his bestowing on his adversary the title of king, yet the subjects of both kingdoms would naturally conclude

* *Fædera*, vol. iv. p. 62.

† Rymer, *Fædera*, vol. iv. p. 29.

‡ Hailes, vol. ii. 4to, p. 113.

that his Holiness intended to acknowledge the right where he had given the title;* and he reminded him, that it was against an established maxim of papal policy, that any alteration in the condition of the parties should be made during the continuance of the truce. At the same time, Randolph, previous to his return, repaired to the court of France, and there renewed the ancient league between that kingdom and Scotland.†

During these negotiations with the papal court, a son was born to King Robert at Dunfermline,‡ who, after a long minority, succeeded his father, under the title of David the Second. It was an event of great joy to the country; and the court poets of the day foretold that, like his illustrious father, the royal infant would prove a man strong in arms, “who would hold his warlike revels amid the gardens of England;” a compliment, unfortunately, not destined to be prophetic.§ Meanwhile, the conferences for a lasting peace between the two kingdoms proceeded; but the demands made by the Scottish commissioners were considered too degrading to be accepted by England, even in her present feeble and disordered state. The discussions were tedious and complicated, but their particulars do not appear in the state papers of the time. If we may believe an ancient English historian,|| it was insisted, that all demand of feudal superiority was for ever to be renounced by England; the fatal stone of Scone, as well as certain manors in England, belonging to the King of Scots, which had been seized

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 46. † Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 279.

‡ On 5th March, 1323. Fordun a Goodal, book xiii. chap. v.

§ “Iste, manu fortis, Anglorum ludet in hortis.” Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 280.

|| Mon. Malmesburiensis, p. 230.

by Edward the First, were to be delivered to their rightful owner. A marriage between the royal blood of England and Scotland was to guarantee a lasting peace between the two kingdoms; and, finally, the whole of the north of England, as far as to the gates of York, was to be ceded to Scotland. This last demand, if really made, must have proceeded from an intention upon the part of the Scots to break off all serious negotiation. As soon, indeed, as Bruce became assured of the disingenuous conduct of Edward, in continuing his machinations at the papal court, for the purpose of preventing the promised grant of absolution to him and to his people, it was natural that all thoughts of a cordial reconciliation should cease, more especially as the intrigues of England appear in this instance to have been successful.*

For some years after this, the quiet current of national prosperity in Scotland, occasioned by the steady influence of good government, presents few subjects for the historian. Bruce's administration appears to have increased in strength and popularity; and the royal household, which had been lately gladdened by the birth of a young prince, was now cheered by an important bridal. Christian Bruce, the king's sister, and widow of the unfortunate Christopher Seton, espoused a tried and hardy soldier, Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, afterwards regent of the kingdom. Moray had been bred to war by Wallace; and it was a wise part of the policy of Bruce, to attach to himself the bravest soldiers by matrimonial alliances. The joy of the country, however, at these happy events, was not long after overclouded by the death of Walter, the High Steward of Scotland, and son-in-law to the king.

* *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 176.

He seems to have been deeply and deservedly lamented. When only a stripling in war, he had done good service at Bannockburn, and afterwards increased the promise of his fame by his successful defence of Berwick against the King of England in person.*

A treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between France and Scotland, was concluded at Corbeil by Randolph, in which it was agreed to make common cause in all future wars between England and either of the contracting parties; with the reservation, however, upon the part of Robert, that so long as the truce continued, he should be free from the effects of such an engagement.† Soon after this, a parliament was held at Cambuskenneth, wherein the clergy, earls, barons, and all the nobility of Scotland, with the people there assembled, took the oaths of fealty and homage to David, the king's son, and his issue; whom failing, to Robert Stewart, now orphan son of Walter the Steward, and the Princess Marjory, the king's daughter. It is important to notice, that this is the earliest parliament in which we have certain intimation of the appearance of the representatives of the cities and burghs, as forming a third estate in the great national council. The same parliament, in consequence of the lands and revenues of the crown having suffered extreme defalcation during the protracted war with England, granted to the king a tenth of the rents of all the lay-lands in the kingdom, to be estimated according to the valuation which was followed during the reign of Alexander the Third.‡

A sudden revolution, conducted by Isabella, the

* Barbour p. 336. He died at Bathgate, and was buried at Paisley.

† Ker's History of Bruce, vol. ii. p. 343. Acts of the Parl. of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 564.

‡ Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1014.

profligate Queen of England, and her paramour Mortimer, terminated soon after this in the deposition of Edward the Second, and the assumption of the royal dignity by his son, the great Edward the Third, now entering his fourteenth year.* Although the avowed intentions of the English regency, who acted as council to the king, were pacific, yet their real conduct was insidious and hostile. To Bruce it was even insulting; for, although they ratified the truce in the name of the young king, and appointed commissioners to renew the negotiations for peace, yet their instructions empowered them to treat with the messengers of the noblemen and great men of Scotland, without the slightest mention of the name of the king, who, under such a provocation, soon manifested a disposition to renew the war. He had been disgusted by the repeated instances of bad faith on the part of the English government; and, taking advantage of the minority of the king, and the civil dissensions which had greatly weakened the country, he assembled a formidable army on the Borders, and declared his resolution of disregarding a truce which had been broken by one of the parties, and of instantly invading England, unless prevented by a speedy and advantageous peace. Against these warlike preparations the English ministry adopted decisive measures. The whole military array of England was summoned to meet the king at Newcastle on the 18th of May; and the Duke of Norfolk, Marshal of England, and uncle to young Edward, was commanded to superintend the muster. To Carlisle, the key of the kingdom on the other side, were sent two brave officers, Robert Ufford and John Mowbray, with a reinforcement to Lord Anthony Lucy, the governor.

* Tyrrel's Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 325.

The naval force of the southern ports was ordered to be at Skinburness, near the Mouth of the Tees. Two fleets, one named the Eastern and the other the Western Fleet of England, were directed to be employed against the Scots. The men living on the borders, and in the northern shires, received orders to join the army with all speed, marching day and night, and to send their women and children for shelter to distant places, or castles;* and those who were too old to fight were obliged to find a substitute. Anxious to give spirit to the soldiers, and to watch the designs of the enemy, the young king and the rest of the royal family came to York, accompanied by John of Hainault, with a fine body of heavy-armed Flemish horse; and Hainault was not long after joined by John of Quatremars, at the head of another reinforcement of foreign cavalry.† Confident in those warlike preparations, the negotiations for the attainment of peace soon became cold and embarrassed; and from the terms proposed by the English commissioners, it was evident that they, as well as Bruce, had resolved upon the prosecution of the war.

Accordingly, soon after this, a defiance was brought to the youthful monarch from the King of Scotland; and the herald was commanded to inform him and his nobles, that the Scots were preparing to invade his kingdom with fire and sword. Bruce himself was about this time attacked by a mortal sickness, brought on by that excessive fatigue, and constant exposure to the inclemency of the seasons, which he had endured in his early wars.‡ The extreme weakness occasioned by this, rendered it impossible for him to take the field

* Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 208. Hailes, vol. ii. p. 117. Barbour, p. 388.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. pp. 210, 213.

‡ Ker's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 357.

in person; but Randolph and Douglas, his two ablest captains, put themselves at the head of an army of ten thousand men, and passing the Tyne near Carlisle, soon showed, that although the king was not present, the skill, enterprise, and unshaken courage which he had inspired, continued to animate his soldiers.* This is one of the last great military expeditions of this reign; and as it places in a strong and interesting light the species of warfare by which Bruce was enabled to reconquer and consolidate his kingdom, as contrasted with the gigantic efforts employed against him, we shall make no apology for a somewhat minute detail of its operations. Froissart, too, one of the most delightful and graphic of the old historians, appears now in the field, and throws over the picture the tints of his rich feudal painting.

Accounts soon reached the English king, that the Scots had broken into the northern counties; and instant orders were given for the host to arrange themselves under their respective banners, and advance against the enemy, on the road to Durham. The English army, according to Froissart, consisted of sixty-two thousand men, of which eight thousand were knights and squires, armed both man and horse in steel, and excellently mounted; fifteen thousand lighter-armed cavalry, who rode hackneys; and fifteen thousand infantry: to these were added twenty-four thousand archers.† The army was divided into three columns, or battles, all of infantry, each battle having two wings of heavy-armed cavalry of five hundred men.

* Barbour, p. 387. Froissart, vol. i. p. 19, by Lord Berners, makes the Scottish army fourteen thousand strong. Barbour says, "*of gud men*" there were ten thousand. The camp-followers who came for plunder, and the hobilers, or light-armed horse, may make up the disparity.

† Froissart, chap. xxxv. Buchon's *Chroniques Françaises*, vol. i. p. 80. Barnes's *Hist. of Edward III.*, p. 9.

Against this great host, admirable in its discipline and equipment, the Scots had to oppose a very inferior force. It consisted of three thousand knights and squires, armed cap-a-pie, and mounted on strong good horses, and twenty thousand light-armed cavalry, excellently adapted for skirmishing, owing to their having along with them no impediments of luggage, or carts and wagons, and their being mounted on hardy little hackneys, which were able to go through their work in the most barren country, where other horses would die of want. "These Scottishmen," says Froissart, "are exceeding hardy, through their constant wearing of arms, and experience in war. When they enter England, they will, in a single day and night, march four-and-twenty miles, taking with them neither bread nor wine; for such is their sobriety, that they are well content with flesh half sodden, and for their drink with the river water. To them pots and pans are superfluities. They are sure to find cattle enough in the countries they break into, and they can boil or seeth them in their own skins; so that a little bag of oatmeal, trussed behind their saddle, and an iron plate, or girdle, on which they bake their crakenel, or biseuit, and which is fixed between the saddle and the crupper, is their whole purveyance for the field." It requires little discernment to see, that a force of this description was admirably adapted for warfare in mountainous and desert countries; and that a regular army, however excellently equipped, being impeded by luggage, wagons, and camp-followers, could have little chance against it. So accordingly the event soon showed.

Advancing from York, the English army learnt no tidings of the Scots until they entered Northumberland, when the smoke that rose from the villages and

hamlets, which they had burnt in their progress, too plainly indicated their wasting line of march.* Although the Marshal of England had been stationed at Newcastle with a large body of troops, and the Earl of Hereford and Sir John Mowbray commanded at Carlisle with a strong garrison, the Scottish army had crossed the Tyne with such silence and rapidity, that the blazing villages of Northumberland were the first messengers which informed their enemies of their approach. From morning to night did the English for two days pursue these melancholy beacons, without being able to get a sight of their enemy, although they burnt and laid waste the country within five miles of their main army. But the English appear to have been little acquainted with the country, and obliged to march with great slowness and precaution through the woods, marshes, and mountainous passes with which it was intersected; whilst the Scots, veterans in this species of warfare, and intimately familiar with the seat of the war, drove every living thing from before their enemies, wasted the forage, burnt the granaries, and surrounded their army with a blackened and smoking desert, through which they passed without a sight of their destroyers.

After a vain pursuit of three days, through desert and rugged paths, the English army, exhausted with toil, hunger, and watching, determined to direct their march again to the Tyne, and, having crossed that river, to await the return of the Scots, and cut off their retreat into their own country. This object they accomplished towards nightfall with great difficulty, and the army was kept under arms, each man lying beside his horse with the reins in his hands, ready to

* Froissart, vol. i. pp. 19, 20.

mount at a moment's warning, with the vain hope that the daylight would show them their enemy, who, they conjectured, would return by the same ford which they had crossed in their advance. Meanwhile, this great host began to experience all those bitter sufferings which the Scottish mode of warfare was so surely calculated to bring upon them.* The rain poured down and swelled the river, so that its passage became perilous; their carriages and wagons, containing the wine and provisions, had been, by orders of the leaders, left behind; and each soldier had carried, strapped behind his saddle, a single loaf of bread, which the rain and the sweat from the horse, had rendered uneatable; the horses themselves had tasted nothing for a day and night; and the soldiers experienced the greatest difficulty in sheltering themselves from the weather, by cutting down the green branches, and making themselves lodges, whilst the horses supported themselves by cropping the leaves. There was much suffering also from the want of light and fire, as the green wood would not burn, and only a few of the greater barons had brought torches with them; so that the army lay on the cold ground under a heavy rain, ignorant, from the darkness, of the situation which they occupied, and obliged to keep upon the alert, lest they should be surprised by the enemy. In this plight the morning found them, when they discovered from the country-people that their encampment was about fourteen leagues from Newcastle, and eleven from Carlisle, but could hear no tidings of the Scots.† It was determined, however, to await their return; and for eight days

* Barnes's *Edward III.*, p. 10.

† Froissart, vol. i. pp. 20, 21, 22. The true distance is forty-two miles from Newcastle, and thirty-three from Carlisle.

they lay upon the bank of the Tyne, in the vain idea of cutting off the retreat of the enemy, while the rain continued to pour down in torrents, and their sufferings and privations to increase every hour, so that murmurs and upbraidings began to arise amongst the soldiers; and the leaders, alarmed by the symptoms of mutiny, determined to repass the river, and again march in search of the enemy.

Having accomplished this, proclamation was made through the host, that the king would honour with knighthood, and a grant of land, any soldier who would lead him to where he could cope on dry ground with the Scots;* and sixteen knights and squires rode off on the adventure, which was quickly accomplished; for one of them, Thomas de Rokeby, was soon after taken prisoner by the advanced guards of the Scots, and carried before Douglas and Randolph. These leaders, confident in the strength of the position which they occupied, sent the squire back to his companions, with orders to lead the English army to the spot where they were encamped, adding, that Edward could not be more anxious to see them than they were to be confronted with him and his barons. Rokeby, who found the king with his army at Blanchland, on the river Derwent, informed them of his success; and next morning, the army, drawn up in order of battle, having marched, under the guidance of Rokeby, through Weardale, about mid-day came in sight of the Scots, strongly encamped on the slope of a hill, at the foot of which ran the rapid river Wear.† The flanks of the position were defended by rocks, which it was impossible to turn, and which overhung the river so

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 312.

† Barnes's *Edward III.*, p. 12. *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 93.

as to command its passage; whilst the stream itself, full of huge stones, and swoln by the late rains, could not be passed without the greatest risk. Having halted and reconnoitred the position of the Scots, the English leaders considered it to be impregnable, and, in the chivalrous spirit of the times, heralds were sent with the proposal, that the two armies should draw up on the plain, renounce the advantages of ground, and decide the battle in a fair field. The Scottish leaders were too well experienced in war to be moved by this bravado. "It is known," said they, in reply to the defiance, "to the king and barons of England, that we are here in their kingdom, and have burnt and wasted the country. If displeased therewith, let them come and chastise us if they choose, for here we mean to remain as long as we please."*

On the first sight of the strength of the Scottish position, the English leaders had given orders for the whole host to be drawn up on foot, in three great columns or battles, having commanded the knights and men-at-arms to lay aside their spurs, and join the ranks of the infantry. In this order the army continued for three days, vainly endeavouring, by manœuvres and bravadoes, to compel the Scottish leaders to leave their strong ground, and accept their challenge. Every night the soldiers lay upon their arms, resting on the bare rocky ground; and as they had no means of tying or picketing their horses, the cavalry were com-

* Froissart, vol. i. p. 23. Hume erroneously describes Douglas as eagerly advising to risk a battle, and Moray dissuading him from it. He has also confounded this expedition with a subsequent inroad of Bruce into England, describing the attack upon Norham as having taken place *previously* to the encampment on the Wear. But the campaign of Randolph and Douglas, and the encampment at Stanhope Park, took place on 5th August, 1327. The siege of Norham did not commence till September.—Hume's Hist. vol. iii. p. 245.

pelled to snatch a brief interval of sleep with their reins in their hand, and harness on their back, destitute of litter or forage, and without fuel to make fires for their comfort and refreshment. On the other hand, they had the mortification to be near enough to see and hear the merriment of the Scottish camp; to observe that their enemies retired nightly to their huts, after duly stationing their watches; to see the whole hill blazing with the fires, round which they were cooking their victuals; and to listen to the winding of the horns, with which the leaders called in the stragglers and pillaging parties.

Although irritated and mortified with all this, the English absurdly determined to remain where they were. They had learnt from some prisoners, taken in skirmishing, that their enemies had neither bread nor wine; and to use the words of Froissart, it was the "intention of the English to holde the Scots there in manner as besieged, thinking to have famished them." But a few hours sufficed to show the folly of such a design. The third night had left the two armies as usual in sight of each other, the Scottish fires blazing, their horns resounding through the hills, and their opponents lying under arms. In the morning, the English, instead of the gleam of arms, and the waving of the pennons of an encamped army, saw nothing before them but a bare hill side.* Their enemies, familiar with every part of this wild country, having found out a stronger position, had secretly decamped, and were soon discovered by the scouts in a wood called Stanhope Park, situated on a hill, at nearly the same distance from the river Wear as their first encampment.†

* Froissart, vol. i. p. 25.

† Barbour, pp. 394, 395.

This ground had equal advantages, in commanding the river, with their first position; and it was not only more difficult of access and of attack, but enabled them, under cover of the wood, to conceal their operations. Thus completely out-manœuvred, and made aware on how frail a basis had been rested their project for starving out their enemy, the English army marched down the side of the Wear, and encamped on a hill fronting the Scots, and having the river still interposed between them. Fatigued and disheartened by their sufferings and reverses, they became remiss in their discipline; and a daring night attack of Douglas had nearly put an end to the campaign, by the death or captivity of the young monarch of England.* This leader, having discovered a ford at a considerable distance from both encampments, passed the river at midnight with five hundred horse; with these he gained unperceived the rear of the English camp, and contrived to deceive the outposts by assuming the manner of an English officer going his rounds, and calling out, “Ha, St George! no watch!” He thus passed the barriers, and whilst one part of his men made an attack on a different quarter, Douglas and his party fell so fiercely and suddenly upon the enemy, that three hundred were slain in a few minutes; still pressing on, and putting spurs to his horse, he penetrated to the royal tent, cut the tent-ropes, and would have carried off the young monarch, but for the resistance of the royal household. The king’s chaplain bravely defended his master, and was slain; others followed his example, and shared his fate; but the interval thus gained gave Edward time to escape, and roused the whole army, so that Douglas found it necessary to retreat. Blowing his horn, he

* Barnes’s *Edward III.*, p. 14. *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 24. *Barbour*, p. 397.

charged through the thickening mass of his enemies, and, with inconsiderable loss, rejoined his friends. Disappointed of his prey, this veteran leader, on being asked by Randolph what speed they had made, replied, "They had drawn blood, but that was all."*

Provisions now began to fail in the Scottish camp, which had hitherto been plentifully supplied, and the two Scottish commanders consulted together what was best to be done. Randolph recommended the hazarding a battle; but Douglas, who, with all his keenness for fighting, was a great calculator of means, insisted that the disparity of force was too great, and proposed a retreat, which, from the nature of the ground, was nearly as dangerous as a battle. Behind the Scottish camp was stretched a large morass, which was deemed impassable for cavalry, and which had effectually prevented any attack in their rear. In the front was the river Wear, the passage guarded by the English army, which outnumbered the Scots by forty thousand men; and on each flank were steep and precipitous banks. To have attempted to break up their camp, and retreat in the day-time, in the face of so superior an enemy, must have been certain ruin. The Scottish leaders, accordingly, on the evening which they had chosen for their departure, lighted up their camp fires, and kept up a great noise of horns and shouting, as they had been wont to do. Meanwhile they had prepared a number of hurdles, made of wands or boughs, tightly wattled together, and had packed up in the smallest compass their most valuable booty. At midnight they drew off from their encampment, leaving their fires burning, and having dismounted on reaching the morass, they threw down the hurdles upon the

* Barbour, p. 399.

softer places of the bog, and thus passed over the water-runs in safety, taking care to remove the hurdles so as to prevent pursuit by the enemy.*

It happened that, the day before, a Scottish knight had fallen into the hands of the English during a skirmish; and being strictly questioned, he informed the king that the soldiers had received orders to hold themselves in readiness to follow the banner of Douglas in the evening. Anticipating from this information another night attack, the whole army drew up on foot, in three divisions, in order of battle; and having given their horses in charge to the servants who remained in the camp-huts, lay all night under arms, expecting to be assaulted every moment. Night, however, passed away without any alarm; and a little before daylight, two of the enemy's trumpeters were taken, who reported that the Scottish army had decamped at midnight, and were already advanced five miles on their way homewards. An instantaneous pursuit might still have placed the retreating army in circumstances of great jeopardy; but the success of Douglas's night attack had made the English overcautious, and they continued under arms till broad daylight, suspecting some stratagem or ambush. At last, when, after a little time, nothing was seen, some scouts were sent across the river, who returned with the intelligence that the Scots had made good their retreat, and that their camp was entirely evacuated.

The deserted encampment was then visited by their mortified opponents, and presented a singular spectacle. In it were found five hundred slaughtered cattle, and more than three hundred caldrons, or kettles, which were made of skins of cattle with the hair on, suspended

* Barbour, p. 402. Froissart, vol. i. p. 25.

on stakes, and full of meat and water, ready for boiling; with about a thousand spit-racks, with meat on them; and about ten thousand pairs of old shoes, commonly called *brogues* in Scotland, and made of raw hides, with the hair on the outer side. The only living things found in the camp were five poor Englishmen, stript naked and tied to trees. Three of these unfortunate men had their legs broken: a piece of savage cruelty, which, if committed with their knowledge, throws a deep stain upon Douglas and Randolph.

On witnessing this, it is said that the young king, grievously disappointed at the mortifying result of an expedition commenced with such high hopes, and involving such mighty preparations, could not refrain from tears. In the meantime, the Scottish army, with safety and expedition, regained their own country in health and spirits, and enriched with the plunder of a three-weeks' *raid* in England. Very different was the condition of the army of Edward. The noble band of foreign cavalry, consisting of knights and men-at-arms from Hainault, Flanders, and Brabant, commanded by John of Hainault, were reduced, by the privation and fatigue of a mode of warfare with which they were little acquainted, to a state of much wretchedness.* On reaching York, their horses had all died, or become unserviceable; and the rest of the English cavalry were in an almost equal state of exhaustion and disorganization.

The disastrous termination of this campaign very naturally inspired the English government with a desire of peace; and although the blame connected with the retreat of the Scots, was attempted to be thrown upon the treachery of Mortimer, and a pro-

* *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 304.

clamation, issued from Stanhope Park, ridiculously described their enemies as having stolen away in the night, like vanquished men,* the truth could not be concealed from the nation ; and every one felt that the military talents of Douglas and Randolph, and the patient discipline of the Scottish soldiers, rendered them infinitely superior to any English force which could be brought against them. The exhaustion of the English treasury, and the jealousy and heart-burnings between Mortimer and the principal nobility, rendered it exceedingly improbable that a continuance of the war would lead to any better success ; and these desires for peace were not a little strengthened by the sudden appearance of the King of Scotland in person, who broke into England by the eastern borders at the head of an army, including every person in Scotland able to bear arms.† Bruce himself sat down before Norham, with a part of his force ; a second division was commanded to waste Northumberland ; and a third under Douglas and Randolph, laid siege to Alnwick castle ; but before hostilities had proceeded to any length, commissioners from England were in the camp of the Scottish king, with a proposal for the marriage of Joanna, the Princess of England and sister to the king, to David, the only son of the King of Scots.

It was required by the king, as the preliminary basis on which all future negotiation was to proceed, that Edward should renounce for ever all claim of feudal superiority which he and his predecessors had pretended to possess over the kingdom of Scotland. To agree to this concession, appears to have been beyond the powers of the commissioners ; and a parliament was

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 301. Hailes, vol. ii. p. 123.

† Barbour, p. 404.

summoned for this purpose, a truce in the meantime having been agreed upon, during the continuance of the negotiations.*

At length, on the 1st of March, 1327-8, the English parliament assembled at York; and this important preliminary, which had cost so great an expense of blood and treasure to both kingdoms, during a terrible war of twenty years, was finally and satisfactorily adjusted. Robert was acknowledged as King of Scotland, and Scotland itself recognised for ever as a free and independent kingdom.

It was declared by Edward, in the solemn words of the instrument of renunciation, "that whereas we, and others of our predecessors, Kings of England, have endeavoured to obtain a right of dominion and superiority over the kingdom of Scotland, and have thereby been the cause of long and grievous wars between the two kingdoms; we, therefore, considering the numerous slaughters, sins, and bloodshed, the destruction of churches, and other evils brought upon the inhabitants of both kingdoms by such wars, and the many advantages which would accrue to the subjects of both realms, if, by the establishment of a firm and perpetual peace, they were secured against all rebellious designs, have, by the assent of the prelates, barons, and commons of our kingdom, in parliament assembled, granted, and hereby do grant, for us, and our heirs and successors whatsoever, that the kingdom of Scotland shall remain for ever to the magnificent Prince and Lord, Robert, by the grace of God, the illustrious King of Scots, our ally and dear friend, and to his heirs and successors, free, entire, and unmolested, separated from the king-

* The truce was to last from 23d Nov. till the 22d March, 1328. Rymer, vol. iv. p. 326.

dom of England by its respective marches, as in the time of Alexander, King of Scotland, of good memory, lately deceased, without any subjection, servitude, claim, or demand whatsoever. And we hereby renounce and convey to the said King of Scotland, his heirs and successors, whatever right we, or our ancestors in times past, have laid claim to in any way over the kingdom of Scotland. And by these same presents, we renounce and declare void, for ourselves, and our heirs and successors, all obligations, agreements, or treaties whatsoever, touching the subjection of the kingdom of Scotland, and the inhabitants thereof, entered into between our predecessors and any of the kings thereof, or their subjects, whether clergy or laity. And if there shall anywhere be found any letters, charters, muniments, or public instruments, which shall have been framed touching the said obligations, agreements, or compacts, we declare that they shall be null and void, and of no effect whatsoever. And in order to the fulfilment of these premises, and to the faithful observation thereof, in all time coming, we have given full power and special authority to our faithful and well-beloved cousin, Henry de Percy, and to William le Zouche of Ashby, to take oath upon our soul, for the performance of the same. In testimony whereof, we have given these our letters-patent, at York, on the 1st of March, and in the second year of our reign. By the king himself, and his council in Parliament.”*

This important preliminary having been amicably

* There are three copies of this important deed known to our historians. One in Rymer, vol. iv. p. 337, taken from a transcript in the Chronicle of Lanercost, another in Goodal's edition of Fordun, and a third in a public instrument of Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews, copied by this prelate, 17th March, 1415. It is from this last, as published by Goodal, (Fordun, vol. ii. p. 289,) that I have taken the translation.

settled, the English and Scottish commissioners did not find it difficult to come to an arrangement upon the final treaty. Accordingly, peace with England was concluded at Edinburgh, on the 17th of March, 1327-8,* and confirmed on the part of the English government, in a parliament held at Northampton, on the 4th of May, 1328. It was stipulated, that there should be a perpetual peace between the two kingdoms, for confirmation of which, a marriage should take place between David, eldest son and heir of the King of Scotland, and Joanna, sister to the King of England. In the event of Joanna's death before marriage, the King of England engaged to provide a suitable match for David from his nearest in blood; and in the event of David's death previous to the marriage, the King of England, his heirs and successors, are to be permitted to marry the next heir to the throne of Scotland, either to Joanna, if allowable by the laws of the Church, or to some other princess of the blood-royal of England. The two kings, with their heirs and successors, engaged to be good friends and faithful allies in assisting each other, always saving to the King of Scots the ancient alliance between him and the King of France; and in the event of a rebellion against England in the kingdom of Ireland, or against Scotland in Man, Skye, or the other islands, the two kings mutually agreed not to abet or assist their rebel subjects. All writings,

* Carte, in an unsuccessful attempt to prove that this treaty did not receive the ratification of parliament, observes—"If the parliament at York had assented to the treaty, why was that of Northampton summoned to warrant it by their assent and approbation?" The answer is obvious. The parliament at York, on the 1st of March, agreed to the renunciation of the claim of superiority, but the remaining articles of the treaty were yet unsettled. These were finally adjusted by the commissioners at Edinburgh, on the 17th of March; and a parliament was summoned at Northampton, which gave its final approbation on the 4th of May. All this is very clear; yet Lingard echoes the scepticism of Carte.

obligations, instruments, or other muniments, relative to the subjection which the kings of England had attempted to establish over the people and land of Scotland, and which are annulled by the letters-patent of the King of England, as well as all other instruments and charters respecting the freedom of Scotland, as soon as they are found, were to be delivered up to the King of Scots; and the King of England expressly engaged to give his assistance, in order that the processes of excommunication against Robert and his subjects, which had been carried through at the Court of Rome, and elsewhere, should be recalled and annulled. It was besides agreed on the part of the king, the prelates, and the nobles of Scotland, that the sum of twenty thousand pounds sterling should, within three years, be paid, at three separate terms; and in the event of failure, the parties were to submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the papal chamber. It was finally covenanted, that the laws and regulations of the marches were to be punctually adhered to by both monarchs; and although omitted in the treaty, it was stipulated in a separate instrument, that the stone upon which the Kings of Scotland were wont to sit at their coronation, and which had been carried away by Edward the First, should be restored to the Scots.*

* Hailes, vol. ii. p. 127. The original duplicate of this treaty, which was unknown to Lord Hailes, was discovered after the publication of his History, and is now preserved amongst the archives in the General Register House in Edinburgh, with the seals of the three lay plenipotentiaries still pretty entire. Robertson's Index, p. 101. The original is in French, and has been printed in Ker's History of Bruce, vol. ii. p. 526. Lingard, vol. iv. p. 9, following Lord Hailes, falls into the error of supposing that no copy of this treaty had been preserved by any writer, and doubts whether it was ever ratified by a full parliament. On what ground this doubt is founded, unless on the erroneous idea that no copy of the treaty could be discovered, it is difficult to imagine. He remarks in a note, that a parliament was held at Northampton in April. It was at this parliament that the treaty of Northampton was agreed to. "*Donne a Northampton, le quart jour de*

There can be no doubt that this treaty was highly unpopular in England. The peace was termed ignominious, and the marriage a base alliance; the treaty itself, in the framing of which the queen and Mortimer had a principal share,* although undoubtedly ratified in parliament, was not generally promulgated, and does not appear amongst the national records and muniments of the time; and when the renunciation of the superiority over Scotland, and the restoration of the fatal stone, came to be publicly known, the populace in London rose in a riotous manner, and would not suffer that venerable emblem of the conquest of Edward the First to be removed.† Yet although it wounded the national pride, the peace, considering the exhausted state of England, the extreme youth of the king, the impoverishment of the exchequer by a long war, and the great superiority of such military leaders as Bruce, Randolph, and Douglas, to any English commanders who could be opposed to them, was a necessary and prudent measure, imperiously dictated by the circumstances of the times.

To Bruce, on the other hand, the peace was in every respect a glorious one; but it was wise and seasonable as well as glorious. Robert anxiously desired to settle his kingdom in tranquillity. Although not to be called an old man, the hardships of war had broken a constitution naturally of great strength, and had brought on a premature old age, attended with a deep-seated and incurable disease, thought to be of the nature of leprosy.

May, *lan de nostre regne secont.*" What are we to think, then, of his concluding observation—"but no important business was done on account of the absence of the principal members"?

* Edward's mother got a grant of 10,000 marks for herself. *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 410.

† *Chronicle of Lanercost*, p. 261. See *Rymer*, vol. iv. p. 454. *Rotul. Claus.* 4 Edward III., m. 16. *verso*.

Upon his single life hung the prosperity of his kingdom, and the interests of his family. His daughter, the only child of his first marriage, was dead. During the negotiations for the treaty of Northampton, Elizabeth, his second wife, had followed her to the grave;* his gallant brothers, partly on the scaffold, and partly on the field, had died without issue; his only son was an infant, and his grandson a boy of ten years old, who had lost both his parents. In these circumstances, peace was a signal blessing to the nation, and a joyful relief to himself. The complete independence of Scotland, for which the people of that land had obstinately sustained a war of thirty-two years' duration, was at last amply acknowledged, and established on the firmest basis; and England, with her powerful fleets, and superb armies, her proud nobility, and her wealthy exchequer, was, by superior courage and military talent, compelled to renounce for ever her schemes of unjust aggression. In the conduct of this war, and in its glorious termination, Bruce stood alone, and shared the glory with no one. He had raised the spirit of his people to an ascendancy over their enemies, which is acknowledged by the English historians themselves; and in all the great military transactions of the war, we can discern the presence of his inventive and presiding genius. He was indeed nobly assisted by Douglas and Randolph; but it was he that had first marked their military talents, and it was under his eye that they had grown up into that maturity of excellence, which found nothing that could cope with them in the martial nobility of England. Having thus accomplished the great object of his life, and warned, by intimations which could not be mistaken, that a

* She died 7th Nov. 1327. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 238.

mortal disease had fixed upon him, the king retired to his palace at Cardross, on the eastern shore of the Clyde. His amusements, in the intervals of disease, were kingly, and his charities extensive. He built ships, and recreated himself by sailing; he devoted himself to architecture and gardening, improving his palace and orchard; he kept a lion for his diversion, and, when his health permitted, delighted in hawking; he entertained his nobility in a style of rude and abundant hospitality, and the poor received regular supplies by the king's order.*

Meanwhile the Princess Joanna of England, then in her seventh year, accompanied by the Queen Dowager, the Earl of Mortimer, the Bishop of Lincoln, High Chancellor of England, and attended by a splendid retinue, began her journey to Scotland. At Berwick she was received by David, her young bridegroom, then only five years of age. Randolph and Sir James Douglas, whom King Robert, detained by his increasing illness, had sent as his representatives, accompanied the prince; and the marriage was celebrated at Berwick with great joy and magnificence.† The attendants of the princess brought along with them, to be delivered in terms of the treaty of Northampton, the Ragman Roll containing the names of all those Scotsmen who had been compelled to pay homage to Edward the First, as well as other important records and muniments,‡ which that monarch had carried with him from Scotland. Bruce was able to receive his son and his youthful consort with a warm and affectionate welcome at Edinburgh; but, finding his disease in-

* Chamberlain's Accounts, vol. i. pp. 33, 39, 40, 41, 46.

† Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1016. Barbour, p. 407.

‡ Carte, vol. ii. p. 397.

creasing upon him, he returned immediately to his rural seclusion at Cardross, where he died on the 7th June, 1329, at the age of fifty-five. Some time before his death, an interesting scene took place, which I shall give in the beautiful and affecting narrative of Froissart.

“In the meantime,” says that historian, “it happened that King Robert of Scotland was right sore aged and feeble, for he was grievously oppressed with the great sickness, so that there was no way with him but death; and when he felt that his end drew near, he sent for such barons and lords of his realm as he most trusted, and very affectionately entreated and commanded them, on their fealty, that they should faithfully keep his kingdom for David his son, and when this prince came of age, that they should obey him, and place the crown on his head. After which, he called to him the brave and gentle knight Sir James Douglas, and said, before the rest of the courtiers,—‘Sir James, my dear friend, none knows better than you how great labour and suffering I have undergone in my day, for the maintenance of the rights of this kingdom; and when I was hardest beset, I made a vow, which it now grieves me deeply that I have not accomplished: I vowed to God, that if I should live to see an end of my wars, and be enabled to govern this realm in peace and security, I would then set out in person, and carry on war against the enemies of my Lord and Saviour, to the best of my power. Never has my heart ceased to bend to this point; but our Lord has not consented thereto; for I have had my hands full in my days, and now, at the last, I am seized with this grievous sickness, so that, as you all see, I have nothing to do but to die. And since my body cannot go thither, and accomplish that which my heart hath so much

desired, I have resolved to send my heart there, in place of my body, to fulfil my vow ; and now, since in all my realm I know not any knight more hardy than yourself, or more thoroughly furnished with all knightly qualities for the accomplishment of the vow : in place of myself, therefore, I entreat thee, my dear and tried friend, that for the love you bear to me, you will undertake this voyage, and acquit my soul of its debt to my Saviour ; for I hold this opinion of your truth and nobleness, that whatever you undertake, I am persuaded you will successfully accomplish ; and thus shall I die in peace, provided that you do all that I shall tell you. I will, then, that as soon as I am dead, you take the heart out of my body, and cause it to be embalmed, and take as much of my treasure as seems to you sufficient for the expenses of your journey, both for you and your companions ; and that you carry my heart along with you, and deposit it in the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord, since this poor body cannot go thither. And it is my command, that you do use that royal state and maintenance in your journey, both for yourself and your companions, that into whatever lands or cities you may come, all may know that you have in charge, to bear beyond seas, the heart of King Robert of Scotland.’

“ At these words, all who stood by began to weep ; and when Sir James himself was able to reply, he said, ‘ Ah ! most gentle and noble king, a thousand times do I thank you for the great honour you have done me, in making me the depositary and bearer of so great and precious a treasure. Most faithfully and willingly, to the best of my power, shall I obey your commands, albeit I would have you believe, that I think myself but little worthy to achieve so high an enterprise.’—

‘ Ah ! gentle knight,’ said the king, ‘ I heartily thank you, provided you promise to do my bidding on the word of a true and loyal knight.’—‘ Assuredly, my liege, I do promise so,’ replied Douglas, ‘ by the faith which I owe to God, and to the order of knighthood.’—‘ Now praise be to God,’ said the king, ‘ for I shall die in peace, since I am assured that the best and most valiant knight of my kingdom has promised to achieve for me that which I myself could never accomplish.’ And not long after, this noble king departed this life.”*

At this, or some other interview, shortly before his death, Bruce delivered to the Scottish barons his last advice regarding the best mode of conducting the war against England. They concentrate, in a small compass, the wisdom and experience which he had gained during the whole course of his protracted but glorious war ; and it is perhaps not too much to say, that there is no instance in their subsequent history, in which the Scots have sustained any signal defeat, where it cannot be traced to a departure from some of the directions of what is affectionately called the “ Good King Robert’s Testament.” His injunctions were, that the Scots in their wars ought always to fight on foot ; that, instead of walls and garrisons, they should use the mountains, the morasses, and the woods ; having for arms the bow, the spear, and the battle-axe ; driving their herds into the narrow glens, and fortifying them there, whilst they laid waste the plain country by fire, and compelled the enemy to evacuate it. “ Let your scouts and watches,” he concluded, “ be vociferating through the night, keeping the

* Froissart, vol. i. pp. 28, 29. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 300.

enemy in perpetual alarm ; and, worn out with famine, fatigue, and apprehension, they will retreat as certainly as if routed in battle." Bruce did not require to add, that then was the time for the Scots to commence their attacks, and to put in practice that species of warfare which he had taught them to use with such fatal effect.* Indeed, these are the principles of war which will in every age be adopted by mountaineers in defence of their country ; and nearly five hundred years after this, when a regular Russian army invaded Persia, we find Aga Mohammed Khan speaking to his prime-minister almost in the very words of Bruce. " Their shot shall never reach me, but they shall possess no country beyond its range ; they shall not know sleep ; and let them march where they choose, I will surround them with a desert."†

Bruce undoubtedly belongs to that race of heroic men, regarding whom we are anxious to learn even the commonest particulars. But living at so remote a period, the lighter shades and touches which confer individuality, are lost in the distance. We only see, through the mists which time has cast around it, a figure of colossal proportion, " walking amid his shadowy peers ;" and it is deeply to be regretted that the ancient chroniclers, whose pencil might have brought him before us as fresh and true as when he lived, have disdained to notice many minute circumstances, with which we now seek in vain to become acquainted ; yet some faint idea of his person may be gathered from the few scattered touches preserved by

* See the original leonine verses, with an old Scots translation, taken from Hearne's *Fordun*, vol. iv. p. 1002, in *Notes and Illustrations*, letters BB. In the translation in the text of the word "*securis*," I have adopted the suggestion of Mr Ridpath, in his *Border History*, p. 290.

† *Sketches in Persia*, vol. ii. p. 210.

these authors, and the greater outlines of his character are too strongly marked to escape us.

In his figure, the king was tall and well-shaped. Before broken down by illness, and in the prime of life, he stood nearly six feet high; his hair curled closely and shortly round his neck, which possessed that breadth and thickness that belong to men of great strength; he was broad-shouldered and open-chested, and the proportion of his limbs combined power with lightness and activity. These qualities were increased not only by his constant occupation in war, but by his fondness for the chase and all manly amusements. It is not known whether he was dark or fair complexioned; but his forehead was low, his cheek-bones strong and prominent, and the general expression of his countenance open and cheerful, although he was maimed by a wound which had injured his lower jaw. His manners were dignified and engaging; after battle, nothing could be pleasanter or more courteous; and it is infinitely to his honour, that in a savage age, and smarting under injuries which attacked him in his kindest and tenderest relations, he never abused a victory, but conquered often as effectually by his generosity and kindness, as by his great military talents. We know, however, from his interview with the papal legates, that when he chose to express displeasure, his look was stern and kingly, and at once imposed silence and ensured obedience. He excelled in all the exercises of chivalry, to such a degree, indeed, that the English themselves did not scruple to account him the third best knight in Europe.* His memory was stored with the romances of the period, in which he took great delight. Their hair-breadth 'scapes and perilous

* Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 295.

adventures were sometimes scarcely more wonderful than his own; and he had early imbibed from such works an appetite for individual enterprise and glory, which, had it not been checked by a stronger passion, the love of liberty, might have led him into fatal mistakes: it is quite conceivable, that Bruce, instead of a great king, might, like Richard the First, have become only a kingly knight-errant.

But from this error he was saved by the love of his country, directed by an admirable judgment, an unshaken perseverance, and a vein of strong good sense. It is here, although some may think it the homeliest, that we are to find assuredly the brightest part of the character of the king. It is these qualities which are especially conspicuous in his long war for the liberty of Scotland. They enabled him to follow out his plans through many a tedious year with undeviating energy; to bear reverses, to calculate his means, to wait for his opportunities, and to concentrate his whole strength upon one great point, till it was gained and secured to his country for ever. Brilliant military talent and consummate bravery have often been found amongst men, and proved far more of a curse than a blessing; but rarely indeed shall we discover them united to so excellent a judgment, controlled by such perfect disinterestedness, and employed for so sacred an end. There is but one instance on record where he seems to have thought more of himself than of his people,* and even this, though rash, was heroic.

By his first wife, Isabella, the daughter of Donald, tenth Earl of Mar, he had one daughter, Marjory. She married Walter, the hereditary High Steward of Scotland, and bore to him one son, Robert Stewart,

* See *supra*, p. 265-6.

afterwards king, under the title of Robert the Second. By his second wife, Elizabeth, the daughter of Richard de Burgh earl of Ulster, he had one son, David, who succeeded him; and two daughters, Elizabeth and Margaret.

Immediately after the king's death, his heart was taken out, as he had himself directed. He was then buried with great state and solemnity under the pavement of the choir, in the Abbey Church of Dunfermline, and over the grave was raised a rich marble monument, which was made at Paris.* Centuries passed on, the ancient church, with the marble monument, fell into ruins, and a more modern building was erected on the same site. This, in our own days, gave way to time; and in clearing the foundations for a third church, the workmen laid open a tomb which proved to be that of Robert the Bruce. The lead coating in which the body was found enclosed, was twisted round the head into the shape of a rude crown. A rich cloth of gold, but much decayed, was thrown over it; and, on examining the skeleton, it was found that the breast-bone had been sawn asunder, to get at the heart.†

There remained, therefore, no doubt, that after the lapse of almost five hundred years, his countrymen were permitted, with a mixture of delight and awe, to behold the very bones of their great deliverer.

* Chamberlain Accounts, vol. i. p. 101.

† See an interesting Report of the discovery of the Tomb, and the reinterment of the body of Robert Bruce, drawn up by Sir Henry Jardine, in the second volume of the Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland, part ii. p. 435.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

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LETTER A, page 6.

DR LINGARD, in his History of England, vol. iii. p. 119, observes, that "the Scottish king consented to an arrangement, by which, although he eluded the express recognition of feudal dependence, he seems to have conceded to Henry the whole substance of his demand." And the same acute historian has remarked, in the same volume, "that when the Scottish king received a grant of land in Tynedale and at Penrith, and consented to perform a new homage for these possessions, the question as to the homage demanded for Scotland was left undecided." I much question the accuracy of these statements; and if the reader will take the trouble to turn to the first volume of the *Fœdera*, pages 374 and 428, he will at once perceive the ground of my dissent. The legitimate inference to be drawn from the documents in Rymer, is, that the question as to any homage due by Alexander the Second for his kingdom of Scotland, was decided against Henry in 1237, and that the English king acquiesced in the decision; for it will be observed, the homage then paid was for his new acquisition,* and there is no reservation of the claim of homage for Scotland. Again it appears, that this decision was virtually enforced and repeated in the charter granted by Alexander in 1244. Henry's demand had evidently been, that Alexander should perform homage to him *for his kingdom of Scotland*. Alexander, who at that time held lands in England, was reported, says Mathew Paris, to have "answered bitterly, that he never did, and never would, hold a particle of land *in Scotland* under Henry,"† but he at the same

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 376.

† Math. Paris, pp. 562, 568; and Hailes, vol. i. p. 184.

time was ready to take the oaths to Henry as his liege lord. This surely cannot be called "a concession to Henry of the whole substance of his demand." The charter by Alexander the Second to Henry the Third, alluded to in the text, is as follows:—

"Alexander, Dei gratia, Rex Scotiæ, omnibus Christi fidelibus hoc scriptum visuris vel audituris, salutem :

"Ad vestram volumus pervenire notitiam, nos pro nobis et hæredibus nostris concessisse, et fideliter promisisse, charissimo et ligio Domino nostro Henrico Tertio, Dei gratia, Regi Angliæ illustri, Domino Hybernici, Duci Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ, et Comiti Andegaviæ, et ejus hæredibus, quod in perpetuum bonam fidem ei servabimus pariter et amorem :

"Et quod nunquam aliquod fœdus inibimus per nos, vel per aliquos alios, ex parte nostra, cum inimicis Domini Regis Angliæ, vel hæredum suorum, ad bellum procurandum vel faciendum, unde damnum eis, vel Regnis suis Angliæ et Hybernici, aut cæteris terris suis, eveniat, vel possit aliquatenus evenire, nisi nos injuste gravent :

"Stantibus in suo robore conventionibus inter nos et dictum Dominum Regem Angliæ initis ultimo apud Eboracum, in præsentia Domini Ottonis, tituli Sancti Nicholai in Carcere Tulliano, Diaconi Cardinalis, tunc Apostolicæ Sedis Legati in Anglia ; et salvis conventionibus factis super matrimonio contrahendo inter filium nostrum et filiam dicti Domini Regis Angliæ :

"Et, ut hæc nostra concessio et promissio, pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, perpetuæ firmitatis robur obtineant, fecimus jurare in animam nostram Alanum Ostiarium, Henricum de Bailloil, David de Lindesie, Willielmum Giffard, quod omnia prædicta, bona fide, firmiter, et fideliter observabimus.

"Et similiter jurare fecimus venerabiles patres David, Willielmum, Galfridum, et Clementem, Sancti Andreæ, Glasconensem, Dunkeldensem, et Dunblanensem, Episcopos.

"Et præterea fideles nostros, Patricium Comitem de Dumbar, Malcolmum Comitem de Fife, Malisium Comitem de Stratherne, Walterum Cumin de Meneteth, Willielmum Comitem de Mar, Alexandrum Comitem de Buchan, David de Hastingsia Comitem Athorl, Robertum de Bruis, Alanum Ostiarum, Henricum de Bailloil, Rogerum de Mumbri, Laurentium de Abrinthia, Richardum Cumin, David de Lindesie, Richardum Siward, Willielmum de Lindesia, Walterum de Moravia, Willielmum Giffard, Nicolaum de Sully, Willielmum de Veteri Ponte, Willielmum de Bevire, Aleumum de Mesue, David de Graham, et Stephanum de Smingham, quod, si nos, vel hæredes nostri, contra concessionem et promissionem prædictam, quod absit, venerimus, ipsi, et hæredes eorum, nobis, et hæredibus nostris,

nullum, contra concessionem et promissionem prædictam, auxilium vel concilium impendent, aut ab aliis pro posse suo impendi permittent.

“Imo bona fide laborabunt erga nos et hæredes nostros, ipsi et hæredes eorum, quod omnia prædicta a nobis et hæredibus nostris, necnon ab ipsis et eorum hæredibus, firmiter et fideliter observentur in perpetuum.

“In cujus rei testimonium, tam nos, quam prædicti prælati, Comites et Barones nostri, præsens scriptum sigillorum nostrorum appositione roboravimus.

“Testibus Prælati, Comitibus, et Baronibus superius nominatis, anno Regni nostri, &c.

“Ista signa apposita fuerunt incontinenti, scilicet Regis Scotiæ Alexandri, Willielmi de Bevre, Willielmi de Veteri Ponte, Willielmi de Lindesai, Stephani de Smingham.

“Aliorum sigilla apposita fuerunt postea. Et ipsum scriptum Regi Anglorum transmissum, ad natale Domini proximo sequens, per Dominum Priorem de Thinemua.”

LETTER B, page 10.

Rymer, *Fœdera*, page 326, new edit.—“We find that the Earl of Hereford, William de Fortibus earl of Albemarle, and R. Walerand, seneschal, accompanied Gloucester and Maunsell. The Scottish barons, with whom they are directed to co-operate against the party of the Comyns, and who are proscribed as rebels, are Patricius Comes de Dunbar, Males Comes Straern, Nigellus Comes de Karrike, Robertus de Brus, Alexander Seneschallus Scotiæ, Alanus Hostiarius, David de Lindes, Willielmus de Brethun, Walterus de Murrenya, Robertus de Mesneres, Hugo Giffard, Walterus le Seneschal, Johannes de Crawford, Hugo de Crauford, and Willielmus Kalebraz.”

LETTER C, page 15.

Lord Hailes calls this assertion of the Comyns, that the king was in the hands of excommunicated persons, a hypocritical pretence. He forgot that, although in the nineteenth century, we can despise the terrors of a sentence of excommunication, the Scottish barons could not treat it as lightly in the thirteenth; and that at this dark period the victims of such a sentence were regarded with universal horror. He adds, that when the same faction accused the queen of having excited her father “to invade Scotland, and extirpate the nation,” they were circulating a slander which was basely devised to operate on the two great passions of the vulgar—fear and national pride.

The words, "invade Scotland, and extirpate the nation," are marked as if they were a quotation from Mathew Paris. But, according to this author, p. 821, what the Comyns asserted was not that the young queen had advised her father to invade Scotland and extirpate the nation, but that "she had incited her father, the King of England, to come *against them* with an army in a hostile manner, and make a miserable havoc : " a charge strictly founded on fact.

LETTER D, page 15.

I subjoin the treaty between the party of the Comyns, and Llewellyn prince of Wales, taken from Rymer, vol. i. p. 653. The page in the text refers to the new edition of the *Fœdera*, at present in the course of publication.

Littera continens quod Scoti et Wallenses non facient pacem cum Rege Angliæ sine mutuo consensu et assensu.

"Omnibus sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis, hoc scriptum visuris vel audituris, Walt. Cumin Comes de Meneth. Alex. Cumyn Comes de Buchan Justic. Scotiæ, Willielmus Comes de Mar, Willielmus Comes de Ros, Joannes Comyn Justiciar. Galwedix, Aimeris de Makeswel, Camerarius Scotiæ, Fresekums de Moravia, Hug. et Walter. de Berkeleya fratres, Bernardus de Mohane, Riginaldus Cheyn, David Lochor, Johannes Dundemor, Willielmus de Erch, Ector de Barrit. et eorum amici præsentés et alligati universi, salutem :

"Noverint nos, anno Gratix millesimo ducentesimo quinquagesimo octavo, decimo octavo die mensis Martii, de communi nostrum consensu et assensu, cum Domino Lewelino filio Griffini, Principe Walliæ, et David filio Griffini fratre suo, Veino Grufud fil. Maduc Domino de Bromfeld, Mareddud fil. Ris, Mareddud filio Ovenir, Reso Jumori, Oweyn filio Mareddud, Madant filio Wenwywym, Mareddud Seis Lewelin, Vechan Owem, Mareddud filio Leweliner Domino de Methem, Owen filio Gruffud, Madant Parvo, Owen filio Bledyn, Howell filio Mareddud, Elisse et Grufud filio Jornith, Gorone filio Edvenet ; Jornith Grugman, Eumay Vechan, Tudar filio Mad, Enmaun filio Karadue, Jornith filio Mareddud, David filio Enviayn, Jenev Chich Roys filio Ednevet, et eorum amicis et alligatis, hanc fecisse conventionem mutux confœderationis et amicitix ; videlicet :

"Quod, sine communi consensu et assensu præfatorum Principis et Magnatum, de cætero nullam pacem, aut formam pacis, treugam aut formam treugæ, faciemus cum Domino Rege Angliæ, aut aliquo Magnate Regni Angliæ, aut Regni Scotiæ, qui tempore confectionis

præsentis scripti, præfatis Principi, et Magnatibus, et terris suis, et nobis contrarii extiterint et rebelles, nisi illi ad omnem hanc eandem considerationem pariter nobiscum teneantur.

“ Nos etiam contra præfatos Principem et Magnates nullam potentiam, utpote exercitum equitum aut peditum, exire permittemus de Scotia; nec in aliquo contra ipsos præfato Regi Angliæ succursum præstabimus aut favorem; immo eisdem Principi et Magnatibus, et terræ suæ, fideliter auxiliantes erimus et consulentes.

“ Et, si contingat quod cum Domino Rege Angliæ, aut quocunque viro, præfatis Principi, et Magnatibus, aut nobis, jam adversante, per Domini nostri Regis Scotiæ præceptum, pacem aut treugam inire compellamur; nos in bona fide, quantum poterimus et sciemus, ad præfatorum Principis, et Magnatum suorum, et terræ suæ commodum et honorem hoc fieri procurabimus cum effectu.

“ Nequaquam de voluntate nostra, nisi per præfati Domini nostri districtam compulsionem hoc mandatum fuerit et præceptum, in aliquo contra præsentem confederationem faciemus; immo Dominum nostrum, pro hac eadem confederatione nobiscum facienda et observanda, quantum poterimus, inducemus.

“ Mercatoribus etiam Walliæ, cum ad partes Scotiæ cum suis negotiationibus venire valeant, licentiam veniendi, et prout melius poterunt negotiationes suas vendendi, pacem etiam et protectionem nostram salvo et secure morandi, et sine quacunque vexatione, cum eis placuerit, recedendi, concedimus ex affectu.

“ Mercatoribus etiam Scotiæ ad partes Walliæ, de licentia nostra, cum suis venire negotiationibus persuadebimus ex corde.

“ Ad prædicta omnia et singula, in fide prædicti Domini Regis Scotiæ fideliter, integre, et illæse, et sine fraude et dolo, et in bona fide observanda, unusquisque nostrum in manu Gwyd. de Bangr. Nuncii præfatorum Principis et Magnatum, fidem suam præstitit, et, tactis sacrosanctis Evangeliiis, corporale sacramentum.

“ In ejus rei testimonium huic scripto, per modum Cyrographi confecto, et penes præfatos Principem et Magnates remanenti, quilibet nostrum sigillum suum fecit apponi.

“ Prædicti vero Princeps et Magnates in manu Alani Yrewyn, Nuncii nostri, similiter præstitis fide sua, et tactis sacrosanctis Evangeliiis, juramento, consimili scripto hujus confederationis et amicitiae, penes nos remanenti, in testimonium, singula sigilla sua apposuerunt.”

LETTER E, page 62.

The letter of the “Community of Scotland, directed to Edward the First, from Brigham,” is important and curious. It contains the

names of the bishops, earls, abbots, priors, and barons of Scotland, as they stood in 1289. I subjoin it from the *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 471.

“Litera Communitatis Scotiæ, per quam consulunt Regi Angliæ quod Matrimonium fiat inter Primogenitum suum et Natam Regis Norwegiæ, Hæredem Scotiæ; et etiam per quam petunt quod Rex Angliæ, concedat eis Petitionem suam, quam petituri sunt per Nuncios suos, in Parlamento ipsius Regis

“ A Tres noble Prince Sire Edward, par la grace de Deu, Roy de Engleterre, Seygnur de Yrlaund, et Duk de Aquitain.

Guillame e Robert, par meme cele grace, de Seint Andreu et de Glasgu Eresques. Johan de Catenes. Abbes.

<i>Johan Comyn, et</i>	<i>De Kelquou,</i>
<i>James Seneschal de Escoce,</i>	<i>De Meuros,</i>
<i>Gardeyns du Reaume de Escoce.</i>	<i>De Dunfermlin,</i>
	<i>De Aberbrothok,</i>
<i>Makeu, Eresque de Dunkeldin,</i>	<i>De la Seinte Croys,</i>
<i>Archebaud, Eresk de Moref,</i>	<i>De Cambuskinel,</i>
<i>Henry, Ereske de Abirdene,</i>	<i>De Kupre,</i>
<i>Guillame, Eresque de Dunblain,</i>	<i>De Driburg,</i>
<i>Marc, Eresque de Man,</i>	<i>De Neubotil,</i>
<i>Henry, Eresque de Gauray,</i>	<i>De Passelay,</i>
<i>Guillam, Eresque de Brechin,</i>	<i>De Jedeworth,</i>
<i>Alayn, Eresque de Catenes,</i>	<i>De Londors,</i>
<i>Robert, Eresque de Ros, et</i>	<i>De Balmorinauch,</i>
<i>Laurence, Eresque de Ergaythil.</i>	<i>De Glenluce,</i>
	<i>De Kilrynnin,</i>
	<i>De Incheafrau,</i>
	<i>De Culros,</i>

Contes.

<i>Maliz de Stratherne,</i>	<i>De Dundraynan,</i>
<i>Patrick de Dunbar,</i>	<i>De Darwonguill,</i>
<i>Johan Comyn de Buchan,</i>	<i>De Kinlos,</i>
<i>Dorenald de Mar,</i>	<i>De Deer,</i>
<i>Gilbert de Hunfraucill de Anegos,</i>	<i>De Ytecolunkile, et</i>
<i>Johan de Asteles,</i>	<i>De Tungeland.</i>

Gauter de Meneteth,
Robert de Brus de Carrik,
Guillam de Ros,
Maucolom de Lorenaus.
Guillam de Sotherland, et

Priours.

De Seint Andreu,
De Coldingham, et
De Leasmahagu,

*De Pluscardin,
De Beaulou,
De Hurward,
De Wytherne,
De Rustinoth,
De May,
De Cononby,
De Blantir.*

Barons.

*Robert de Brus, Seygnur de Val
de Anaunt,
Guillam de Moref,
Guillame de Soulys,
Alisaundre de Ergayl,
Alisaundre de Bayliol, de Kacers,
Geffray de Moubray,
Nichol de Graham,
Nichol de Lugin,
Ingeram de Bailiol,
Richard Siward,
Herbert de Macswell,
David le Mariscal,
Ingeram de Gynes,
Thomas Randolf,
Guillame Comyn, Seygnur de
Kirketolauch,
Simon Fraser,
Renaud le Chen le Pere,
Renaud le Chen le Fitz,
Andreu de Moref,*

*Johannes de Soules,
Nichol de la Haye,
Guillam de la Haye,
Robert de Cambron,
Guillam de Seincler,
Patrik de Grame,
Johannes de Estrivelin,
Johannes de Kalentir,
Johan de Malerile,
Johan le Seneschal,
Johan de Glenesk,
Alisaundre de Bonkyll,
Bertram de Cardenes,
Dorenald le fit Can,
Magnus de Fetherith,
Robert le Flemying,
Guillam de Moref, de Drumær-
gard,
David de Betune,
Guillame de Duglas,
Alisaundre de Lyndeseye,
Alisaundre de Meneteth,
Alisaundre de Meners,
Guillam de Muhaut,
Thomas de Somerville,
Johan de Inchemartin,
Johan de Vaus,
Johan de Moref,
Maucolom de Ferendrauch, et
Johan de Carniauch.*

“Du Realme de Escoce saluz, et totes honors.

“Pour la vostre bone fame, et pur la droiture ke vous fetes si comunement a tut, et pur le bon veysinage et le grant profit, que le Reaume de Escoce a resceu de vous, et voustre Pere, et de vous Auncestres, du tens cea en arere.

“Sumes nus mut leez et joyus de accones noveles, que *mult de gent parlent*, ke le Apostoyll deust aver otree et fet dispensacion, ke Mariage se puist fere entre mun *Sire Edward, vostre Fitz, et Dame Margarete Reyne de Escoce, nostres treschere Dame*, non ostant procheinette de Saunk; et prium vostre hautesee ke vous *plese certefier nous de ceste chose*.

“Kar, si la dispensacion graunte, vous seit grante, nus des hore, ke le mariage de eus face, otreom e nostre accord ; et nostre assent ydonom ; *et ke vous facez a nus les choses, que nos messages, que nous enverrom a voustre Parlement, vous mustrunt de par nus, que renables serrunt.*

“Et, si ele seit a purchacer, nus, pur les grant biens e profit, que purrunt de coe avenir al’un e le autre Reaume, mettrom volenters conseil, ensemblement ovesque vous, coment ele seit purchace.

“E, pur ceste chose, e autres, ke tuchent l’estat du Reaume de Escoce, Sur queux nous aurom mester de aver seurte de vous ; nous, avauntdyt Gardeyns, Evesques, Countes, Abbes, Priurs, e Barons, enveroms a vous, a Londres, a voustre *Parlement de Pasch prochain* avenir, de bone gent du Reaume de Escoce, pur nus et pur eus, et pur tote la Commune de Escoce.

“Et, en tesmonage des avaunt dites choses, nous, Gardeyns du Reaume, Prelats, Countes, e Barones avaunt dit, en nom de vous, et de tote la Commune, le Seel Comun, que nus usom en Escoce, en nom de nostre Dame avaunt dyte, auvom fet mettre a ceste lettre.

“Done a Briggeham, le Vendredy procheyn a pres la Feste Seint Gregorie, le an le nostre Seygnur, 1289.”

LETTER F, page 103.

Lord Hailes is at a loss to settle the exact chronology of this surrender by Baliol, but Prynne enables us to do this with considerable accuracy. The scroll of the resignation was prepared at Kincardine on the 2d July. The penance took place in the churchyard at Strathkathro on the 7th of the same month ;* and the deed recording it is of the same date : after which, on the 10th July, at the castle of Brechin, in the presence of Edward himself, Baliol made his final resignation, and a second instrument was drawn up exactly in the same terms as the scroll prepared at Kincardine. Bower, in his additions to Fordun, is evidently in an error, when he states that Baliol underwent his penance and made his resignation at Montrose. Prynne, Edw. I., pp. 647, 650, 651. Baldred Bisset, the Scottish envoy at Rome, who was sent there to confute the claims of Edward to the superiority over Scotland, may perhaps have founded his accusation, that Edward had forged the instrument of Baliol’s resignation, upon this discrepancy in the dates.

* I find in Mr Chambers’s agreeable work, entitled “The Picture of Scotland,” vol. ii. p. 255, that the tradition of the country affirms the penance of Baliol to have been performed at Strathkathro.

LETTER G, page 105.

A Diary of the Expedition of Edward in the year 1296, preserved in the Cottonian Collection, gives the following account of his progress. It is chiefly valuable from its fixing dates and places, being extremely meagre in detail. It is written in old French, and is probably nearly coeval with the events it describes. The corruption of the Scottish names in it is very great. It is about to be published in a valuable Miscellany edited by the Bannatyne Club.*

On the 28th March, 1296, being Wednesday in Easter Week, King Edward passed the Tweed, and lay in Scotland,
At Coldstream Priory.

Hatton, or Haudene, 29th March, Thursday.

Friday, being Good-Friday, 30th March. Sack of Berwick.

Battle of Dunbar, April, 24, 26, 27.

Edward marches from Berwick to Coldingham, 28th April; to Dunbar.

Haddington, Wednesday, Even of Ascension, May 3.

Lauder, Sunday, May 6.

Rokesburgh, Monday, May 7, where Edward remained fourteen days.

Jedworth, May 23.

Wyel, Thursday, May 24th; Friday, 25th, to Castleton; Sunday, 27th, again to Wyel.

Jedworth, Monday, May 28.

Rokesburgh, Friday, June 1.

Lauder, Monday, June 4.

Newbattle, Tuesday, June 5.

Edinburgh, Wednesday, June 6. Siege of Edinburgh.

Linlithgow, June 14.

Stirling, Thursday, June 14. At Outreard, June 20.

Perth, Thursday, June 21, where he remained three days.

Kinlevin, on the Tay, June 25.

Cluny, Tuesday, June 26. Abode there till July 1.

Entrecoit, Monday, July 2.

Forfar, Tuesday, July 3.

Fernwell, Friday, July 6.

Montrose, Saturday, July 7. Abode till the 10th.

Kincardine in the Mearns, Wednesday, July 11.

Bervie, Thursday, July 12.

* The Antiquarian Society of London, however, have anticipated the Bannatyne Club; for I find the Diary printed, with a learned preface by Sir Harris Nicolas, in the volume of their Transactions which has lately appeared. A coincidence of this kind shows that there is a valuable spirit of research at work in both countries.

Dunn Castle, Friday, July 13.
 Aberdeen, Saturday, July 14.
 Kinkell, Friday, July 20.
 Fyvie, Saturday, July 21.
 Banff, Sunday, July 22.
 Invercullen, Monday, July 23.
 In tents on the river Spey, district of Enzie, Tuesday, July 24.
 Repenage, in the county of Moray, Wednesday, July 25.
 Elgin, Thursday, July 26. Remained for two days.
 Rothes, Sunday, July 29.
 Innerkerack, Monday, July 30.
 Kildrummie, Tuesday, July 31.
 Kincardine in the Mearns, Thursday, August 2.
 Brechin, Saturday, August 4.
 Aberbrothoc, Sunday, August 5.
 Dundee, Monday, August 6.
 Baligarnach, the Redcastle, Tuesday, August 7.
 St Johnston's, Wednesday, August 8.
 Abbey of Lindores, Thursday, August 9. Tarried Friday.
 St Andrews, Saturday, August 11.
 Markinch, Sunday, August 12.
 Dunfermline, Monday, August 13.
 Stirling, Tuesday, August 14. Tarried Wednesday 15th.
 Linlithgow, Thursday, August 16.
 Edinburgh, Friday, August 17. Tarried Saturday 18th.
 Haddington, Sunday, August 19.
 Pykelton, near Dunbar, Monday, August 20.
 Coldingham, Tuesday, August 21.
 Berwick, Wednesday, August 22.

Having spent twenty-one weeks in his expedition.

LETTER H, page 124.

Lord Hailes observes, p. 253, vol. i., that "Buchanan, following Blind Harry, reports that the bridge broke down by means of a stratagem of Wallace." Buchanan, however, expressly says, that the "bridge broke down either by the artifice of the carpenter who had loosened the beams, as our historians assert, or from the weight of the English horse, foot, and machinery."

LETTER I, page 143.

Hemingford, vol. i. p. 165, says, these compact bodies were in a circular form—"qui quidem circuli Schiltronis vocabantur." Schil-

tron seems to denote nothing more than a compact body of men. It is thus used by Barbour in his poem of *The Bruce*, where he describes the battle of Bannockburn—

“For Scotsmen that them hard essayed,
That then were in a schiltrum all.”

Walsingham, p. 75, affirms, that Wallace fortified the front of his position with long stakes driven into the ground, and tied together with ropes, so as to form a hedge. I find no mention of this in Hemingford; nor in Fordun, Winton, or Trivet. Walsingham's account is vague, and unlike truth. He tells us, that Edward first commanded the attack to be made by the Welsh, and that they refused; upon which a certain knight addressed the king in two monkish rhyming verses, in Latin. Hemingford's narrative, on the other hand, which I have chiefly followed, is strikingly circumstantial and interesting. He describes the battle of Stirling, as if he had the particulars from eye-witnesses; and Lord Hailes conjectures, that this account of the battle of Falkirk was taken from the lips of some who had been present.

LETTER K, page 146.

Trivet, p. 313, says, these two religious knights were slain in the beginning of the battle; but I prefer the authority of Hemingford, p. 165, and Langtoft, p. 305-6. Lord Hailes, following Mathew of Westminster, p. 431, says that Bryan de Jaye was Master of the Knights Templars in England; but it is certain, from the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 29 Edward I. mm. 12. 11., that he was Master of that Order in Scotland. We there find, “Brianus de Jaye, Preceptor Militiæ Templi in Scotia.”

There is a long note in Hailes upon the battle of Falkirk, *Annals*, vol. i. p. 262. Its object is to prove, that every account of the battle of Falkirk which has been given by Scottish historians, from Fordun to Abercromby, is full of misrepresentation, and, on this subject, the English historians are alone to be trusted. In these misrepresentations of the Scottish historians, he includes the assertion, “that there were disputes between Wallace and the Scottish nobles; that some of these nobles were guilty of treachery in abandoning the public cause; and that, on the first onset, the Scottish cavalry withdrew, without striking a blow.”

That there was treachery among the Scottish nobles, is, however, satisfactorily proved by Hemingford, an English historian. That the

Scottish horse fled without striking a blow, "*absque ullo gladii ictu*," when the battle had just begun, is asserted by the same writer, Hemingford; yet, singular to say, this does not appear to Hailes to be anything like treachery. The Scottish cavalry were a body of a thousand armed horse, amongst whom were the flower of the Scottish knights and barons: are we to believe that these, from mere timidity, fled, before a lance was put in rest, and upon the first look of the English? But the note is also strikingly inconsistent with this author's own statement at p. 254, where, in giving an account of the feelings of the Scottish barons with regard to Wallace, he asserts, that "his elevation wounded their pride; his great services reproached their inactivity in the public cause;" that it was the language of the nobility, "We will not have this man to rule over us;" and that "the spirit of distrust inflamed the passions and perplexed the counsels of the nation." This was the picture given by this historian, of the sentiments of the Scottish nobles on 29th March, 1298. Yet, when the Scottish historians observe, that at the battle of Falkirk, only four months after this, the Scottish nobility were weakened by dissensions, and their army enfeebled by envy of Wallace, the account is deemed wholly incredible.*

LETTER L, page 147.

Wherfor the Kyng, upon the Maudelyn day,
At Fowkyrke fought with Scottes in great array.
Where Scottes fled and forty thousand slaine;
And into Fiffes he went, and brent it clene,
And Andrew's toune he wasted then full plaine;
Blackmanshyre and Menteth, as men mene,
And on the ford of Tippour, with host I wene,
Bothvile, Glasgowe, and to the toune of Are,
And so to Lanarke, Lochmaban, and Annand there.

Hardynge's Chronicle, 8vo, London, 1543, fol. clxv.

LETTER M, page 154.

The negotiations between Philip and Edward, in 1297, on the point of including the kingdom of Scotland under the truce and pacification entered into at Tournay, were unknown to Lord Hailes, as the document which contains so full and explicit an account of them was not

* See Mr Aikman's Translation of Buchanan's History, (pages 410, 413, and 416,) for some remarks on Lord Hailes' accounts of the battles of Falkirk and Roslin, and his apology for Menteith.

published at the time he wrote his history. They throw an important light on the conduct of Comyn, and the higher Scottish nobility, who refused to join Wallace in his resistance to Edward ; as they prove, that one motive for their refusal might be, the hope that Philip's representations would induce Edward to include them and their country in the articles of truce, and in the subsequent treaty of peace, of which these articles were understood to be the basis. Even so late as the battle of Falkirk, July 22, 1298, Comyn, who drew off his vassals, and took no part in the day, might have indulged some hope that Philip's mediation, and the representations of the pope, would succeed in restoring peace to Scotland, and thus save his own lands, and the estates of the Scottish nobles. For Edward did not give his final answer, by which he totally excluded Scotland, and all its subjects, from the articles of truce and pacification, till the 19th August, 1298, (Rymer, vol. i. new edit. p. 898,) when he was in camp at Edinburgh. At the same time, although these negotiations give some explanation of the motives which might have influenced the nobles of Scotland in refusing to act with Wallace, they afford no excuse for their weak and selfish conduct.

LETTER N, page 170.

This account of the battle of Roslin is taken from the English historians, Hemingford, Trivet, and Langtoft, and from our two most valuable and authentic Scottish historians, Winton and Fordun. Lord Hailes, who generally follows the English historians, has given a description of the battle in the shape of a critical note. He appears not to have consulted, when he composed his text, the curious and minute account given by Langtoft, vol. ii. p. 319, although he afterwards quotes him in the corrections and additions. So far from attempting to throw any veil over the events of the day, Langtoft is open and candid as to the entire defeat of the English. The same historian has fallen into a mistake, when he states the fact, in saying that Segrave, instead of falling back, rashly advanced and attacked the Scots. Segrave was surprised and attacked in his encampment by the Scots ; and so complete was the surprise, that his son and brother were taken in bed. As to the ridiculous story of Sir Robert Neville miraculously retrieving the day, and the invulnerable qualities conferred on those present at mass, it is a monkish tale, utterly unworthy of belief, as Langtoft informs us that Neville was slain. There is some inconsistency in the manner in which this historian has recounted the battle of Roslin. He was aware, he tells us, that the English historians, whom he follows, gave a partial

account; yet this account he incorporates into his text. He has brought no well-grounded argument against the narrative of Winton and Fordun, which is supported by the English historian, Langtoft; yet he insinuates that the Scottish historians *may* have exaggerated the successes of the Scottish army at Roslin; and with this affectation of superiority to national prejudice, he quietly passes them over. Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 153, says, quoting Walsingham and the Chron. Abingdonense, that Wallace headed the Scots in this battle; but I find no authority in the Scottish writers for such an assertion.

LETTER O, page 174.

The fortalice at Lochindorb is thus described by Mr Lewis Grant, in his Account of the Parish of Cromdale: "A thick wall of mason work, twenty feet high even at this period, and supposed to have been much higher, surrounds an acre of land within the loch, with watch-towers at every corner, all entire. The entrance to this place is a gate built of freestone, which has a grandeur in it easier felt than expressed. Several vestiges of houses are found within the walls, besides those of a church, which, without difficulty, can still be traced in the ruins. Great rafts, or planks of oak, by the beating of the waters against the old walls, occasionally make their appearance. Tradition says, and some credit is due to the report, that the particular account of this building was lost in the days of King Edward the First of England." Had the worthy clergyman who wrote this, studied the history of Scotland in Fordun, infinitely the most valuable of all our historians, he would there have found that Edward, "*in propria persona ad Lochindorb pervenit, et ibidem aliquamdiu moram faciens, partes boreales ad pacem cepit.*" It is very delightful to find tradition thus throwing its shadowy reflection upon history, and history its clear and certain light upon tradition.

LETTER P, page 174.

Kildrummie, of which there are still considerable remains, will be found described in Stat. Account, vol. xviii. p. 416.—Edward's progress, as ascertained by dates and authentic instruments in Rymer and Prynne, was as follows:—

Newcastle, 7th May.—Prynne, p. 1016.

Morpeth, 9th May.—Prynne, pp. 1015, 1016.

Rokesburgh, 21st May.—Prynne, p. 1017.

Edinburgh, 4th June.

Linlithgow, 6th June.—Rymer, vol. ii. old edit. p. 931.

Perth, 10th June.—Rymer, vol. ii. p. 934.

Clackmannan, 12th June.

Perth again, 28th June.—Prynne, p. 1016.

Same town, 10th July.—Prynne, p. 1009.

Kincardine, 17th August.—Prynne, p. 1012.

Aberdeen, 24th August.

Banff, 4th September.—Prynne, p. 1021.

Kinloss, in Moray, 20th September.

Kildrummie, 8th October.—Prynne, p. 1017.

Kinloss again, 10th October.

Dundee, 20th October.—Prynne, p. 1015.

Cambuskynel, 1st November.—Prynne, p. 1022.

Kinross, 10th November.

Dunfermline, 11th December.

LETTER Q, page 176.

Lord Hailes observes, vol. i. p. 276, that “the Scots fondly imagined that Edward would attempt to force the passage, as the impetuous Cressingham had attempted in circumstances not dissimilar; but,” he adds, “the prudence of Edward frustrated their expectation; having discovered a ford at some distance, he passed the river at the head of his whole cavalry.” This is quite erroneous; and Trivet, p. 337, whom he quotes on the margin as his authority, says something very different. He tells us, that Edward *did intend to pass the river by the bridge*, which, on his arrival, he found had been already destroyed by the Scots, that all passage thereby might be cut off. Baulked in his expectation, “Edward pitched his tents and prepared for dinner, when John Comyn approached on the opposite bank with the whole power of the Scots; upon whose appearance the English army, seizing their arms, mounted their horses, and with these the king himself, entering the river, found, by the direction of the Lord, a ford for himself and his soldiers.” Edward, therefore, whose prudence Lord Hailes commends, because he did not imitate the impetuous Cressingham, had actually intended to follow his example, and pass the river by the bridge; and the Scots, whom he represents as fondly imagining he would do so, evidently entertained no such idea, because they burnt the bridge to prevent him from passing the river.

LETTER R, page 178.

Much as I respect the ability of Dr Lingard, I cannot altogether acquit him of prejudice in his narrative of Scottish affairs. Speaking,

p. 323, vol. iii., of the conditions offered by Edward to Comyn, the Bishop of Glasgow, Sir Simon Fraser, and the rest, he adds,—“When the rest of his countrymen made their peace with England, his (that is, Wallace’s) interests were not forgotten. It was agreed, *that he also might put himself on the pleasure and grace of the king, if he thought proper;*” and he adds this note—“*Et quant a Monsieur Guilliam de Galeys est accordé qu’il se mette en la volonte, et en la grace notre le Seigneur le Roi, si lui semble que bon soit.*” Lord Hailes “thinks it doubtful, whether the words ‘si lui semble’ refer to Wallace or the king; but they evidently refer to Wallace. *The offer is made in the same manner to the Bishop of Glasgow, the Steward, &c. ‘si lours semble que bon soit.’*” By these expressions of the historian, the reader might be led to believe, that Edward’s conduct to his Scottish rebels was not ungenerous or harsh; and that to Wallace, the same, or nearly the same, terms were offered as to the rest of his countrymen. This is the impression made by the words, “*it was agreed that he also,*” and by the observation, “*the offer is made in the same manner.*” But it is proved by a state paper published in Prynn’s *Edward the First*, pp. 1119, 1120, that to Comyn, the Bishop of Glasgow, Sir Simon Fraser, and the rest, Edward expressly stipulated, “*that their life and limbs should be safe—that they should not suffer punishment or lose their estates—and that the ransom they should pay, and the fines to be levied on them for their misdemeanors, should be referred by them to the good pleasure of the king.*” This last condition related only to Comyn, and those who surrendered themselves along with him. Wishart the Bishop of Glasgow, Sir Simon Fraser, James the Steward of Scotland, John Soulis, and a few others, were promised security for life and limb, freedom from imprisonment, and that they should not lose their lands; but, according to their degrees of guilt in Edward’s mind, a fine of more or less extent, and a banishment for a longer or shorter time, was inflicted on them; which conditions they were to accept, no doubt, “*if to them seemed proper;*” “*si lours semble que bon soit.*” And what, by the same authentic deed, was promised to Wallace? The terms were, *an unconditional surrender of himself to the will and mercy of the king*, terms which every man knows were almost equivalent to a declaration, that he was doomed to be executed the moment he was taken; and yet Dr Lingard gravely tells us, “Wallace’s interests were not forgotten.” Had he turned to Langtoft, p. 324, he would have found, that Wallace did, like the rest, propose to surrender himself, on the assurance of safety in life, limbs, and estate; but that Edward cursed him by the fiend for a traitor, and set a price of three hundred marks on his head. This was an

attention to his interests with which, we may presume, he would willingly have dispensed.

LETTER S, page 184.

The best, and evidently the most authentic, accounts of this memorable siege, are to be found in Langtoft's Chronicle, in Hemingford, Trivet, and Walsingham. Math. Westminster, in his turgid work, entitled the Flowers of History, has given us a lengthy narrative, interwoven with speeches of his own composition, which he puts into the mouth of Edward. The last scene of the surrender of Olifant is in King Cambyzes' vein; but there is a great want of keeping in Mathew's composition. Edward, on receiving the suppliants, and hearing their appeal to his mercy, tells them, it is his pleasure that they should be hanged and quartered; after which he bursts into tears. The names of the leaders in this defence of Stirling are preserved in Rymer. They are the following:—

Domini Willielmus Olyfard,	Domini Andreas Wychard,
Willielmus de Dupplyn,	Godefridus le Botiller,
milites,	Johannes le Naper,
Fergus de Ardrossan,	Willielmus le Scherere,
Robinus de Ardrossan,	Hugo le Botiller,
frater ejus,	Joannes de Kulgass,
Willielmus de Ramseya,	Willielmus de Anant,
Hugo de Ramseya,	Robertus de Ranfru,
Radulfus de Haleburton,	Walterus Taylleu,
Thomas de Knellhulle,	Simon Larmerer,
Thomas Lellay,	Frater Willielmus de Keth ordinis
Patricius de Polleworche,	Sancti Dominici Prædicatorum,
Hugo Olyfard,	Frater Petrus de Edereston de
Walterus Olyfard,	domo de Kelsou ordinis Sancti
Willielmus Gyffard,	Benedicti.
Alanus de Vypont,	

Rymer, *Fœdera*, new edit. p. 966.—The capitulation is dated July 24, 1304.

LETTER T, page 186.

The fact, that Wallace's four quarters were sent to different parts of Scotland and England, is mentioned by most ancient historians; but I find the notice of the towns to which they were sent in the MS. Chron. of Lanercost a valuable historical relic, preserved in the library of the British Museum, (Cotton Library, Claudian,

D. vii. Art. 13,)* some extracts from which were communicated by Mr Ellis to Dr Jamieson. See Preliminary Remarks to Wallace, p. 12. This is the passage—"Captus fuit Willelmus Waleis per unum Scottum, scilicet per Dominum Johannem de Mentiphe, et usque London ad Regem adductus, et adjudicatum fuit quod trahe-retur, et suspenderetur, et decollaretur, et membratim divideretur, et quod viscera ejus comburerentur, quod factum est; et suspensum est caput ejus super pontem London, armus autem dexter super pontem Novi Castri super Tynam, et armus sinister apud Berwicum, pes autem dexter apud villam Sancti Johannis, et pes sinister apud Aberdene." Fol. 211. See also "Illustrations of Scottish History," p. 54, edited by Joseph Stevenson, Esq., a valuable work presented to the Maitland Club, by Mr Steven of Polmadie.

LETTER U, page 188.

Lord Hailes was fond of displaying his ingenuity in whitewashing dubious characters; and his note upon Sir John Menteith is an instance of this. He represents the fact, that his friend Menteith betrayed Wallace to the English, as founded upon popular tradition, and the romance of Blind Harry, Wallace's rhyming biographer; whom, he adds, every historian copies, but none but Sir Robert Sibbald ventures to quote; and, in his Corrections and Additions, he observes, that "his Apology for Menteith has been received with wonderful disapprobation by many readers, because it contradicts vulgar traditions, and that most respectable authority, Blind Harry."

In reply to this it may be observed, that the fact of Wallace being betrayed and taken by Sir John Menteith is corroborated by a mass of ancient historical authority, both from English and Scottish writers, superior to what perhaps could be brought for most other events in our history; and that as these writers lived long *before* Blind Harry, he may have copied from them, but it is impossible they could have copied from him. I shall shortly give the English and Scottish authorities for the fact, and leave the reader to make his own inferences.

We have already seen, from the last note, that the Chronicle of Lanercost Priory, a valuable MS. of the thirteenth century, preserved in the British Museum, Claudian D. vii. 13, and now printed by the Maitland Club, has this passage:—"Captus fuit Willelmus Waleis per unum Scottum, scilicet per Dominum Johannem de Mentiphe, et usque London ad Regem adductus, et adjudicatum fuit quod traheretur, et suspenderetur, et decollaretur."† We cannot be surprised

* Since printed by the Maitland Club, and one of their most valuable works.

† Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 203.

that Lord Hailes should have been ignorant of this passage, as he tells us, *Annals*, vol. ii., p. 316, he had not been able to discover where the MS. Chronicle of Lanercost was preserved.

The next piece of evidence, of Menteith's having seized Wallace, is contained in Leland's extract from an ancient MS. chronicle, which Hailes has elsewhere quoted. I mean the *Scala Chronicle*, preserved in Corpus Christi Library, Cambridge.* In Leland's *Collect.* vol. i., p. 541, we have this passage from the Chronicle :—" *Wylliam Waleys was taken of the Counte of Menteth about Glaskow, and sent to King Edward, and after was hangid, drawn, and quarterid, at London.*" This is Leland's translation of the passage, which in all probability is much more full and satisfactory in the original. Yet it is quite satisfactory as to Menteith's guilt.

The next English authority is Langtoft's Chronicle, which Hailes has himself quoted in his *Notes and Corrections*, vol. ii. p. 346. It is curious, and, as to Menteith's guilt, perfectly conclusive :—

Sir Jon of Menetest sewed William so nehi,
He took him when he wend lest, on nyght his leman bi ;
That was thocht treson of Jak Schort his man ;
He was the encheson, that Sir Jon so him nam.—P. 329.

We learn from this, that Sir John Menteith prevailed upon Wallace's servant, Jack Short, to betray his master ; and came, under cover of night, and seized him in bed, "his leman by," and when he had no suspicion of what was to happen. How Hailes, after quoting this passage, which was written more than two centuries before Blind Harry, should have represented this poor minstrel as the only original authority for the guilt of Menteith, is indeed difficult to determine.

Fordun, who must have been born in the earlier part of the reign of Robert the First, received materials for his history from Wardlaw bishop of Glasgow. This prelate died in 1386. Say that Fordun concluded his history in 1376, ten years before Wardlaw's death, it will follow that it was ninety-four years before the poem of Blind Harry, the date of whose poem is somewhere about 1470. Let us hear how he speaks of the death of Wallace :—

"Anno Domini M.CCCV., Willelmus Wallace *per Johannem de Menteth fraudulenter et prodicionaliter capitur, Regi Angliæ traditur, Londoniis demembratur.*" Vol. iv. p. 996.

Winton, against whose credit as a historical authority Hailes could not possibly have objected, finished his chronicle in 1418, fifty-two

* Since this printed by the Maitland Club. The passage will be found, p. 126.

years before Blind Harry's poem was written. Yet Winton thus speaks of the capture of Wallace, vol. ii. p. 139.—

“ A thousand thre hundyr and the fyft yere
Efter the byrth of our Lord dere,
Schyre Jon of Menteith in tha dayis
Tuk in Glasco Willame Walays.”

And the chapter where this is mentioned is entitled—

Quhen Jhon of Menteith in his dayis,
Dissawit gud Willame Walays.

Bower, the continuator of Fordun, and who possessed his manuscripts, was born in 1385, and is generally believed to have published his continuation about 1447, sixty-two years before Blind Harry's poem. He preserves, however, the very words of his master, Fordun, as to the guilt of Menteith, and afterwards refers to him in some additions of his own, as the acknowledged traitor who had seized Wallace. Vol. ii. pp. 229, 243.

With these authors—Fordun, Winton, and Bower—Lord Hailes was intimately acquainted. He has, indeed, quoted the last of them, Bower, on the margin. He must have known that they were dead before the author of the Metrical Romance of Wallace was born. Annals, vol. i. p. 281. And yet he labours to persuade the reader that the tale of Wallace's capture by Menteith rests on the single and respectable authority of Blind Harry! He has also remarked, that he has yet to learn that Menteith had ever any intercourse or friendship and familiarity with Wallace. Whether there was any friendship or familiarity between Menteith and Wallace is not easily discovered, and is of little consequence; yet that Menteith acted in concert with Wallace, and must therefore have had intercourse with him, is proved by the following passage from Bower, preserved in the *Relationes Arnaldi Blair*:—“ In hoc ipso anno (1298) viz. 28 die mensis Augusti, Dominus Wallas Scotiæ custos, cum Johanne Grahame, et Johanne de Menteith, militibus necnon, Alexandro Scrymgeour, Constabulario villæ de Dundee et vexillario Scotiæ, cum quinquagentis militibus armatis, rebelles Gallovidienses punierunt, qui Regis Angliæ et Cuminum partibus sine aliquo jure steterunt.”*

Having given these authorities, all of them prior to Blind Harry,

* Dr Jamieson, in his Notes on Wallace, p. 403, has ably combated the scepticism of Hailes as to Menteith. The above passage is quoted from the *Relationes Arnaldi Blair*, and seems to have been a part of Bower's additions to Fordun.

it is unnecessary to give the testimony of the more modern writers. The ancient writers prove incontestably, that Sir John de Menteith, a Scottish baron, who had served along with and under Wallace against the English, deserted his country, swore homage to Edward, and employed a servant of Wallace to betray his master into his hands ; that he seized him in bed, and delivered him to Edward, by whom he was instantly tried, condemned, and hanged. Yet all these circumstances are omitted by Lord Hailes, who appears surprised that vulgar tradition should continue from century to century to execrate the memory of such a man.

Dr Lingard, in his *History of England*, vol. iii., pp. 328, 329, has attempted to diminish the reputation of Wallace. He remarks, that he suspects he owes his celebrity as much to *his execution* as to his exploits ; that of all the Scottish chieftains who deserved and experienced the enmity of Edward, *he alone* perished on the gallows ; and that on this account his fate monopolised the sympathy of his countrymen, who revered him as the martyr of their independence ; he represents the accounts of his strength, gallantry, and patriotic efforts, as given by Scottish writers who lived a century or two after his death, and who therefore were of no credible authority ; and he concludes with an eulogy on the clemency of Edward, who did not forget the interests of Wallace when the rest of his countrymen made their peace with England. These observations will not bear examination ; for, first, it is a mistake to say, that of all the Scottish chieftains who deserved Edward's enmity, Wallace was the only one who perished on the gallows. Sir Nigel Bruce, Sir Christopher Seton, John Seton, the Earl of Athole, Sir Simon Fraser, Sir Herbert de Morham, Thomas Boys, Sir David Inchmartin,* Sir John de Somerville, Sir Thomas and Sir Alexander Bruce, both brothers of the king, and Sir Reginald Crawford, were all hanged by Edward's orders in the course of the year 1306, within a year of the execution of Wallace.

*So utterly untenable is the ground on which Dr Lingard has founded his conjecture, that Wallace owes his celebrity "to his execution."

His next remark is equally unfortunate. The writers who have given us an account of the exploits of Wallace did not live, as he imagines, a century or two after his death. John de Fordun, whom the historian, in his note on p. 328, includes amongst these writers, was born, as we have said, early in the reign of King Robert Bruce. He certainly received materials for his history from Bishop Wardlaw, who died in 1386. If we suppose that he began his history thirty years before, and that he was thirty years old when he commenced

* See *supra*, 213 to 222 inclusive.

writing, this will give us 1326 for the year of his birth. So that Fordun was born twenty-one years after Wallace's execution. Even in the most favourable possible way in which the calculation can be taken, Fordun wrote his history only eighty-one years after Wallace's execution ; and taking fifty as the average life, it will follow he was born only thirty-one years after that event. Winton finished his history in 1418. He was born probably not more than fifty or sixty years after Wallace's death, and might have received his information from old men who had known him.

As to Dr Lingard's praise of the clemency of Edward towards Wallace, the unsubstantial grounds on which it is founded have been already noticed ;* but I cannot help remarking, that this historian's whole account of Wallace does little justice to this great man. He begins, by throwing a doubt over his early history. "Historians conjecture," he says, "that Wallace was born at Paisley, and they assert that his hostility to the English originated more in the necessity of self-preservation than the love of his country. He had committed a murder, and fled from the pursuit of justice to the woods." Such may be the vague assertion of the English historians ; but Bower, an excellent authority, intimates a contrary opinion. He asserts that Wallace's hostility to the English arose from his despair at beholding the oppression of his relations and countrymen, and the servitude and misery to which they were subjected. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 169.

He next observes, that after the surprise of Ormesby the Justiciary, by Wallace and Douglas, other independent chieftains arose in different counties, who massacred the English, and compelled their own countrymen to fight under their standards. These other independent chieftains are unknown to the contemporary historians, English or Scottish. But they do not appear upon the stage without a use. On the contrary, they first multiply, like Falstaff's men in buckram, "into numerous parties," and then act a principal part in the next sentence ; for the historian goes on to observe, "that the origin and progress of *these numerous parties* had been viewed with secret satisfaction by the Steward of Scotland and Wishart the Bishop of Glasgow, who determined to collect them into one body, and to give their efforts one common direction. Declaring themselves the assertors of Scottish independence, they invited the different leaders to rally around them ; and the summons was obeyed by Wallace and Douglas, by Sir Alexander Lindsay, Sir Andrew Moray, and Sir Richard Lundy." Vol. iii. p. 305. This last sentence has not, as far as I can

* Page 331, note R.

discover, a shadow of historical authority to support it. The numerous independent parties and chieftains who rose in different counties ; the secret satisfaction with which they were contemplated by the Bishop of Glasgow and the High Steward ; their determination to collect them into one body, and to give them one common direction ; their declaring themselves the assertors of Scottish independence ; their summons to the different leaders to rally round them, and the prompt obedience of this summons by Wallace, Douglas, and the rest—are not facts, but the vivid imaginations of the historian : and the impression they leave on the mind of the reader appears to me to be one totally different from the truth. The Steward and the Bishop of Glasgow are the patriot chiefs under whom Douglas, and Wallace, and many other independent chieftains, consent to act for the recovery of Scottish freedom, and Wallace sinks down into the humble partisan, whose talents are directed by their superior authority and wisdom. Now, the fact was just the reverse of this. The Steward and Wishart, encouraged by the successes of Wallace and Douglas, joined their party, and acted along with them in their attempt to free Scotland ; but neither Fordun nor Winton nor Bower, give us the slightest ground to think that they acted a principal part, or anything like a principal part, in organizing the first rising against Edward. On the contrary, these historians, along with Trivet and Walsingham, Tyrrel and Carte, ascribe the rising to Wallace alone, whose early success first caused him to be joined by Douglas, and afterwards by the Bishop and the Steward, along with Lindsay, Moray, and Lundy. Indeed, instead of playing the part ascribed to them by Dr Lingard, the patriotism of the Steward and the Bishop was of that lukewarm and short-lived kind which little deserves the name. It did not outlive eight weeks, and they seized the first opportunity to desert Wallace and the cause of freedom. The attack upon Ormesby the Justiciary took place some time in May 1297 ; and on the 9th of July of the same year did Bishop Wishart negotiate the treaty of Irvine, by which he and the other Scottish barons, with the single exception of Wallace and Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, submitted to Edward. The historian's other hero, the High Steward, who is brought in to divide the glory with Wallace, was actually in the English service at the battle of Stirling ; and although he secretly favoured the Scottish cause, he did not openly join with his countrymen till he saw the entire destruction of Surrey's army. I may remark, in concluding this note, that the idea of an attack upon Wallace, and an eulogy of the clemency of Edward, was perhaps suggested by Carte, vol. ii. p. 290 ; but his clumsy and absurd argument is discarded, and a more ingenious hypothesis is substituted in its place. On reading over

Hemingford again, I find one expression which may perhaps have had some weight with Dr Lingard. This historian says, speaking of Bruce, p. 120, that he joined the Bishop of Glasgow and the Steward, "*qui tocius mali fabricatores exstiterant.*" Yet this is inconsistent with his own account in p. 118, and is not corroborated, as far as I know, by any other historian. The reader will find some additional remarks in vindication of Menteith in my friend Mr Napier's excellent *Life of his great ancestor, the Inventor of the Logarithms*, p. 527-534.

LETTER V, page 203.

A MS. in the Cottonian, Vitell. A xx, entitled "*Historia Angliæ a Bruto ad ann. 1348,*" has this passage: "*Anno 1306, Kal. Feb. Robertus de Brus ad regnum Scotiæ aspirans, nobilem virum, J. de Comyn, quod sæ proditioni noluit assentire, in Ecclesia fratrum minorum de Dumfries interfecit; et in festo annuntiationis Virginis, gloriose in Ecclesia Canonicorum regularium de Scone, per Comitissam de Bohan, se fecit in regem Scotiæ solemniter coronari. Nam germanus predictæ comitis, cui hoc officium jure hereditario competeat, tunc absens in Angliā morabatur. Hanc Comitissam eodem anno Angli ceperunt, et in quadam domuncula lignea super murum Castri Berwyki posuerunt, ut eam possent conspiciere transeuntes.*" The original order of Edward for the imprisonment of the Countess of Buchan is to be found in Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 1014. Lord Hailes treats the tale of the Countess of Buchan's criminal passion for Bruce with ridicule. If, however, we admit the fact, that the Countess of Buchan, whose brother was in the English interest, and whose husband, according to Hemingford, vol. i. p. 221, was so enraged that he sought to kill her for her treason, did, alone and unaccompanied, repair to Scone, and there crown Bruce, it seems to give some countenance to the story of her entertaining a passion for the king. The circumstance that nothing of this second coronation is to be found in the Scottish historians, Barbour, Winton, or Fordun, rather confirms than weakens the suspicion.

LETTER W, page 213.

"*Hanc autem Comitissam eodem anno ab Anglicis captam cum quidam perimere voluissent, non permisit rex, sed in domuncula quadam lignea super murum Castri Berewici posita est, ut possent eam transeuntes conspiciere.*" Trivet, p. 342.—Lord Hailes, vol. ii. p. 10, has given an elaborate note, to prove the impossibility of there being any truth in Math. Westminster's assertion, p. 455, "*that the countess was in open day suspended at Berwick in a stone and iron chamber, formed like a crown, as a gaze to all passengers.*" He

quotes the order preserved in the *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 1014, and then observes, that it is inconsistent with the story related by Math. Westminster. I confess that I can see no such inconsistency; on the contrary, the one seems completely to corroborate the other. The place of confinement, as described in the express words of Edward, is “to be a cage constructed in one of the turrets of the castle of *Berwick*, latticed with wood, cross-barred, and secured with iron, in which the Chamberlain of Scotland, or his deputy, shall put the Countess of Buchan.” Lord Hailes observes, that “to those who have no notion of any cage but one for a parrot, or a squirrel, hung out at a window, he despairs of rendering this mandate intelligible.” I know not what called forth this querulous remark; but any one who has observed the turrets of the ancient Scottish castles, which hung like cages, on the outside of the walls, and within one of which the countess’s cage was to be constructed, will be at no loss to understand the tyrannical directions of Edward, and the passage of Mathew Westminster. It is worthy of observation, that, in his text, Lord Hailes has wholly omitted to notice the severity of Edward the First to the Countess of Buchan, simply stating, that she was committed to close confinement in England, and characterizing Edward’s orders as being ridiculously minute. Dr Lingard, vol. iii. p. 377, softens the severity of Edward by a supposition, which appears to me to be inconsistent with the tone and spirit of Edward’s order.

LETTER X, page 215.

We know by the evidence of a remission under the Great Seal, communicated by Mr Thomson, the Deputy-Clerk Register, to Dr Jamieson, that the delivery of Sir Christopher Seton to the English was imputed to Sir Gilbert de Carrick, but, upon investigation, not altogether justly, “minus juste ut verius intelleximus;” and the same remission proves, that the castle of Lochdon was, by the same knight, Sir Gilbert de Carrick, delivered into the hands of the English. Mr Thomson considers the remission as showing for certain that Sir Christopher had taken refuge in the castle of Lochdon, of which Sir Gilbert de Carrick was hereditary keeper; but this is rather a strong inference than a certainty. The conjecture of the Statistical Account, vol. xi. No. 4, Parish of Urr, in favour of the castle of Loch Urr, seems to be supported by pretty plausible evidence.

LETTER Y, page 218.

Dr Lingard observes that some of them were murderers. I know not on what authority he uses the plural “some of them.” Sir Christopher de Seton, indeed, is represented by Hemingford, p. 219,

as having slain Comyn's brother, Sir Robert; and Trivet, p. 345, points to the same thing in the sentence, "*usque Dumfries ubi quendam militem de parte Regis occiderat*;" but the historians, Barbour and Fordun, say nothing of it; and I suspect that all that can be proved against Seton, is the being present with Robert Bruce when he stabbed Comyn. Indeed, one MS. of Trivet says, that Seton was condemned on account of a murder committed in a church *with his consent*. See Trivet, p. 345, and the various readings at the bottom. As to the others, I am not aware of a single act of murder which can be brought against them, on the authority either of English or of Scottish historians. The fealty sworn to Edward was extorted from them either by fetters, imprisonment, confiscation, or the fear of death.

LETTER Z, page 241.

Lord Hailes has been misled by Rymer, who has erroneously placed a deed entitled "*Gilbertus Comes Gloucestrie Capitaneus pro Expeditione Scotiæ*," on the 3d December, 1309, instead of 1308. He conjectures that the siege was raised. We may, perhaps, infer the contrary, from the orders issued by Edward, on the 12th of May, 1309, to most parts of England, and to Ireland also, to provide corn, malt, peas, beans, and wine, for his various castles in Scotland, and in the enumeration of these, Rutherglen is not included. The castles mentioned are, Berwick, Roxburgh, Stirling, Edinburgh, Banff, Perth, Dundee, Dumfries, Caerlaverock, and Ayr. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, m. x. p. 63. Forfar is also mentioned, in a document dated 3d December, 1308, as being at the time in possession of the English.

LETTERS AA, page 257.

Hume has mistaken the numbers of the English army who fought at Bannockburn, and has been corrected by Hailes, vol. i. p. 41. Dr Lingard has remarked, that it is impossible to ascertain the exact numbers of Edward's army. He says the most powerful earls did not attend; but he has omitted the fact, that although they did not come in person, they sent their knights to lead their vassals into the field, and perform their wonted services. We may infer from the mention, in the English historians, of the absence of the Earls of Warwick, Surrey, Arundel, and Lancaster, that if any of the other barons or counties had neglected to send their powers, they would have noted the circumstance. The number given by Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 260, is a hundred thousand men; and it is probable that this is rather under than above the fact.

LETTERS BB, page 360.

The leonine verses, called Bruce's testament, are as follows:—

“*Scotica sit guerra pedites, mons, mossica terra:
Silvæ pro muris sint, arcus et hasta, securis.
Per loca stricta greges munientur. Plana per ignes
Sic inflammentur, ut ab hostibus evacuentur.
Insidiæ vigiles sint, noctu vociferantes.
Sic male turbati redient velut ense fugati
Hostes pro certo; Sic Rege docente Roberto.*”

I add the Scottish version from Hearne:—

“On fut suld be all Scottis weire,
Be hyll and moss thaimself to weire,
Lat wod for wallis be; bow, and spier,
And battle-axe, their fechtig gear.*
That ennymeis do thaim na dreire,
In strait placis gar keip all stoire,
And birnen the planen land thaim befoire,
Thanen sall they pass away in haist
Quhen that thai find nathing bot waist;
With wylles and wakenen of the nycht
And mekil noyse maid on hycht;
Thanen shall thai turnen with gret affrai
As thai were chasit with swerd away.
This is the counsall and intent
Of gud King Robert's testament.”

* In the translation of “securis,” I have adopted Ridpath's conjecture.—*Border History*, p. 290.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.



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